











ASSURBANIPAL HUNTING.

From a Slab found at Ninevols, now in the British Museum.

# HISTORY

OF

# ASSURBANIPAL,

TRANSLATED FROM THE

## CUNEIFORM INSCRIPTIONS.

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## PREFACE.

In the year 1866 I commenced copying Inscriptions with a view to publish a History of Assurbanipal. In the next year, 1867, I was appointed to assist Sir H. Rawlinson in preparing a new volume of Assyrian Inscriptions, and the copies of cylinder fragments of Assurbanipal, made by Mr. E. R. Bowler, were placed in my hands. These copies I found very useful, as Mr. Bowler had great experience in copying the Cuneiform character; and from them, in conjunction with my own copies, I put together the Cylinder Inscriptions, having at the time the benefit of Sir H. Rawlinson's supervision. These cylinders, and the principal tablets of Assurbanipal, were printed in the Third Volume of Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia.

After the printing of this work I found that, by search in the Museum cupboards, I was gathering a number of new fragments of the annals of Assurbanipal. I added these to my copies, and commenced translating them. On mentioning the subject to Mr. J. W. Bosanquet, the well-known Chronologist, he generously proposed to advance a sum of money for the publication of these annals, which sum he subsequently increased; and the completion of the work was provided for by Mr. H. Fox Talbot, the Assyrian scholar. To the kindness and liberality of these two gentlemen I am entirely indebted for the means of publishing my present work.

In order to make the book as perfect as possible I have recopied all the texts from the original tablets and cylinders, but the fragmentary state of some of the inscriptions causes considerable doubt as to the reading of several passages; these, however, do not affect any important historical matter.

All passages restored will be found enclosed in brackets, thus [\*\*]; passages or signs present in one copy but omitted in another (\*\*); and variant words or passages are given thus (v. \*\*).

The two books which I have most used in my translation are the Assyrian Dictionary of my friend Mr. E. Norris, and Fuerst's Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon. I differ in opinion from Mr. Norris as to the meaning of several Assyrian words; but the numerous examples and comparisons given in his Dictionary make it a most valuable aid to Assyrian scholars. The printing of the present work has occupied about twelve months. It has been in the hands of Messrs. Harrison and Sons, who have spared ho expense to make it perfect; and for its progress I am much indebted to Mr. John Mabey, the compositor, who has so much skill in setting-up the Cuneiform types.

My own chronological views are not very decided, for the Assyrian Inscriptions have introduced many difficulties into this already complicated subject; on this account I have said as little as possible about the chronology. Mr. Bosanquet has inserted, at the end of the book, a paper to explain his views on the subject of Chronology in connection with the Annals of Assurbanipal.

## ASSURBANIPAL.

First among the sources of information respecting Assurbanipal must be placed the decagon cylinder (Cylinder A) in the British Museum. This inscription is the most perfect of his longer documents, and carries his history down to a later period than the others. Cylinder A, when complete, contained over 1,200 lines of cuneiform writing (about twenty lines are now quite lost), and is divided by lines drawn across the columns into thirteen parts. The inscriptions on other types of cylinders—the octagon (Cylinder B), the decagons (Cylinders C and D), and Cylinder E—supply us with accounts of two expeditions omitted on Cylinder A. Besides these there are many independent inscriptions, giving the history of particular campaigns; and lastly, the reports of the Assyrian generals to Assurbanipal, and his answers and proclamations. The history of Assurbanipal from these materials will divide itself into the following heads:—

The introduction, genealogy, and accession of the monarch.

The first Egyptian war.

The second Egyptian war.

The siege of Tyre and affairs of Lydia.

The conquest of Karbit (omitted on Cylinder A).

The war with Minni.

The war with Urtaki, king of Elam (omitted on Cylinder A).

The war with Te-umman, king of Elam, and the conquest of Gambuli.

The revolt of Saul-mugina, brother of Assurbanipal.

The first war with Umman-aldas, king of Elam.

The second war with Umman-aldas.

The Arabian war.

The final triumph over Elam.

The buildings of Assurbanipal.

Later notices of his reign and sketch of the chronology.

Under each head the most important documents referring to it will be given, so far as possible, that the different accounts may be compared together. Cylinder A is here taken as the standard wherever it refers to the events.

## PART I.

Introduction, Genealogy, and Accession of Assurbanipal.

#### TEXTS.

The principal texts relating to the genealogy and accession of Assurbanipal are Cylinder A, col. i, lines 1 to 50; Tablet K, 3050, which gives a very long account (an extract only from col. ii of this tablet is given); Cylinder B, col. i, lines 1 to 24 (lines 25 and 26 are lost, and lines 27 to end of introduction are identical with Cylinder A, col. i, lines 45 to 50); Tablet K, 2641, which appears to be a fragment of a letter from Assurbanipal to his father Esarhaddon; and an extract from the Sale Tablet K, 321.

Cylinder A, Column I, Lines 1 to 50.

- 2. FE FINE EN FINE EN FINE EN FINE AND SA SEN FOR SON of the great king of But-riduti, whom Assur

va Sin bil age ul - tu immi ruquti ni - bit sum and Sin the lord of crowns, from remote days, the account

su iz-ku-ru a-na sar-u-ti va ina lib ummi of his name had prophesied to the kingdom, and in the body

su ib-nu-u a-na riu-ut Assur Samas Vul of his mother, have made to rule Assyria. Shamas, Vul,

Va Istar ina uzzi su-nu ke - e - ni ig - bu - u and Ishtar, in their supreme power, commanded the

e - pis şarru - ti su Assur - aḥ-iddina şar Assur abu making of his kingdom. Esærhaddon, king of Assyria, the father

ba - nu-u a a-mat Assur va Bilat Ili ti - ik - my begetter, the will of Assur and Beltis the Gods

- Il su it - ta - h - id sa ig - bu-u su e - pis his protectors he exalted, who commanded him to make

saru - ti ya ina araḥ Airu araḥ He - a bil my kingdom. In the month Iyyar the month of Hea the lord

te-ni-se-e-ti immu 12 immu magaru se-sa sa of mankind, on the 12th day, a fortunate day, the festival of

Gu - la ina e - pis pi - i mut - tal - li sa in performing the important determination, which

- Assur Bilat Sin Samas Vul Bel Nabu

  Assur, Beltis, Sin, Shamas, Vul, Bel, Nebo,

- rabati sa tam te e lit va sap lit a na great, and of the upper and lower seas; to the
- na zir zaḥri ṣaru ti ya va arku nu setting apart (i.e. inauguration) of my kingdom, and afterwards
- saru-ut Assur e-pe-es a-de-e ni-is
  the kingdom of Assyria I ruled. The observances of
- Ili rabati u sa as kir su-nu- ti u the great Gods, I caused to be performed to them,
- dan ni [na] rak şa a ti ina hidati confirmed the covenants. With joy and

e - pu - su ina lib - bi \* \*

a - sar [Assur - aḥ-iddina] abu
kingdom in the midst \* \*

The place [Esarhaddon] the father

ba - nu-u [a] ki - rib \* \* \* \* \* e - pu - su bi - lut [my] begetter, within \* \* \* \* \* ruled the dominion

- ni mi qi Nabu kul-lat duppi sadr ru ti sa of the wisdom of Nebo, the whole of the inscribed tablets, of
- gi mir dup pa-a- ni ma-la kip va ah zi su-nu all the clay tablets, the whole of their mysteries and difficulties,

a-ḥi-id al-gis ab-sa-le-e iz-bam ru-du
I solved. al gis ab sa le, powerful bows,

- susi
  rukubi za-mid- şu a-sa-a- ti ina ki bit
  horses,
  chariots and their harness firmly fitted. By the
- ili rabati sa sip ku ra \* bit sun will of the great Gods who \* \* \* their \* \* \*.
- a-da-bu-ba ta-us-ta-su-un ig-bu-u e-pis

  I proclaimed their laws, they commanded the making.
- saru ti ya za nin es re e ti su un u sadof my kingdom, the embellishing of their temples, they
- -||♦ | ≠ ★ ⟨ || 39. ⟨ || = || ★ ⟨ || = || ± || || gi lu pa-nu-u a ke e mu-u a e tap-pa lu entrusted to me, for me they exalted my
- bil-u-ti ya i na ru ga ri ya zi ka ru dominion and cast down my enemies. The man of
- qar-du na ram Assur va Istar li id da -tu war, exalted by Assur and Ishtar, the royal off-
- sar u ti a na ku ul tu Assur Sin Samas spring am I. When Assur, Sin, Shamas,
- Vul Bel Nabu Istar sa Ninua il ṣar rat

  Vul, Bel, Nebo, Ishtar of Nineveh, the divine queen
- Kit-mu- ri Istar sa Arba il Ninip Nergal Nusku of Kitmuri, Ishtar of Arbela, Ninip, Nergal, and Nusku

valia

ya Vul zunni su u -vas-se- ra He -a getter, Vul poured down his rain, Hea

se- im (v. se- am) is - qu ina ab - sin - ni su eof the seed, they took in the barn the

na-pa-as miri(?) pi ya u - suḥ naabundance of corn satisfied my mouth, the

 EXTRACT FROM TABLET K, 3050, COLUMN II.

1. - - Fix -

hat - ti \* \* \* \*

e - ru - uv - va ina Bit - ri - du-u - ti

hat - ti \* \* \* \*

and I entered into Bit-riduti,

Assur abu Ili Maruduk bel beli şar sam- [e va Assur, father of the Gods, and Merodach lord of lords, king of heaven [and

-bi ya i - da -as gi - mir karasi ma - li - ni \* \*

entry knew, all the camp malini \* \*

ya zab-tak ab-bu-şu-nu bu-şu-ris \*\*\*\*

the father my begetter, in order(?) I placed(?) them as \*\*\*

ip - pal - şu va ina ki - bi - ti su-nu zir - ti u - sib by their high command I firmly sat on

CYLINDER B, COLUMN I, LINES 1 TO 24.

1. If  $rac{1}{2}$   $rac{1}$   $rac{$ 

dan-nu sar kissat sar Assur sar kip -rat the king of nations, king of Assyria, king of the four

arba- te zi - it lib-bi Assur -aḥ-iddina ṣar kissat regions; proceeding from the body of Esarhaddon, king of nations,

şar Assur sakkanaku Bab - il şar king of Assyria, high priest of Babylon, king of

Sumiri va Akkadi lib-pal - pal Sin - aḥi - irba the Sumir and Akkad; grandson of Sennacherib,

sar -kissat sar Assur Ili rabati ina puḥri king of nations, king of Assyria. The great Gods in their

ra - pa - as - tu is - ru - ku-u-ni kul-lat duppani attentive ears have given; and to all the

sadr - ru - ti u - sa - hi - zu ka - ra - si ina puhri inscribed tablets they caused my mind to attend.

In the

lu - li - mi zi - kar sum - ya u - sar - [bu - u] assembly of the mighty, the renown of my name they magnified,

zik - ru -u - tu e -mu - qa - an zi - ra - [a - ti] u - renown, and powerful forces they exalted

-sat-lim-u- ni ma- ta -a- ti la ma- gi - [ri] ina increased to me, and countries disobedient into

ina .
into entrustis

They strengthened (?)

over

zi - bi ya i - lu eli il(?) * * * es - rit ili gifts of my fingers, the Gods over * * * the temples of
$\begin{array}{cccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$
⟨YY - Y  ♠
tim -mi * * * * ina babati su- un ul -ziz Bit * * * * columns * * * * in their gates I set up, Bit * * *
20. FINN + FINN E FINN E FINN 21. (EEF Bit -mas masu Bit -bilat- matati Bit * * * * ki -ma Bit mas masu, Bit bilat matati, Bit * * * * like a
⟨   -
23. ►   ► E

Fragment of a Letter, K, 2641.

1. \*\* \* \* \* rab- i \* sar \* kissat \* sar \* Bab - ili \* \* \* \* \* \* great, \* king of \* nations, \* king of \* Babylon,

2. \*\* \* \* \* \* sar \* a- bi \* ya \* ki - bi \* va \* \* \* \* \* \* u \* \* \* \* \* the king my father in consort with me; \* \* \* \* \* \*

On reverse:

The following is the most probable restoration of this fragment:

"[To Esarhaddon] the great [king], king of nations, king of Babylon, [king of the four regions,] the king my father in consort with me; [from Assurbanipal] the great [king], king of nations, king of Assyria, thy son \* \* \* his great [men(?) to the king my lord, may there be] much peace \* \* \* \* my \* \* \* \* \*."

On reverse: "[Palace of Assur]banipal [king of nations, king "of] Assyria."

DATE ON SALE TABLET K.

Ina arah abu immu 27 li - mu Mar - la - rim
In the month of Ab, the 27th day, the eponymy of Marlarmi, the

Assur king of Assyria.

From these texts we learn that Assurbanipal was the son of Esarhaddon, and grandson of Sennacherib, and that he was made king of Assyria during his father's lifetime, on the 12th day of the month Iyyar (April), in the eponymy of Marlarim; which, according to the Assyrian eponym canon, was B.C. 668; and this year is further given in Ptolemy's canon as the last year of Esarhaddon. Ptolemy's list for this period being—

Ασαριδίνου  $v\gamma'$  [13 years]  $\pi'$  [end 60 year N.] B.C. 680-668. Σαοςδουχίνου  $\chi'$  [20 years]  $\rho'$  [end 80 year N.] B.C. 667-648.

Saosduchin, the successor of Esarhaddon at Babylon (according to Ptolemy), is the brother of Assurbanipal, usually called Saulmugina. He was made tributary king of Babylon, on the death of Esarhaddon (see Part ix).

### PART II.

The First Egyptian War.

#### TEXTS.

The texts of this part of the history are, Cylinder A, col. i, line 51, to col. ii, line 60; Cylinder B, col. i, line 34, to col. ii, line 22. The text of Cylinder B being in most places the same as Cylinder A only the variant passages need notice; the same may be said of Cylinder C, which has one variant passage, but otherwise agrees with Cylinder B. Cylinder E gives a different text, part only of which is preserved. Tablet K, 3083, has a passage connecting this text with that of the large Egyptian Tablets, K, 2675, and K, 228. Beside the Assyrian texts it is necessary here to give some notice of the Egyptian inscriptions bearing on the subject.

CYLINDER A, COLUMN I, LINE 51, TO COLUMN II, LINE 60.

51. \( \) \\( \) \

gur

va Mi - luḥ -ḥa lu -u- al - lik Tar - qu - u ṣar Mu - zur and Meroe I went. Tirhakah king of Egypt

Ku - u - şi sa Assur -aḥ-iddina şar Assur and Ethiopia, of whom Esarhaddon king of Assyria, the

abu ba -nu-u a abikta su is -ku-nu va i -bi-lu father my begetter, his overthrow had accomplished; and had

mat su va su u Tar - qu - u da - na - an taken possession of his country; and he Tirhakah, the power of

- im si va it ta gil a na e muq ra -ma- ni su despised, and trusted to his own might.
- e li şarri ke (e) -pa-a-ni sa ki rib

  Of the kings and governors whom in the midst

da -a - ki ḥab (v. ḥa - ba) -a - te va e - kim to slay, plunder, and to capture

Assur u - tir - ra (v. ru)

boundaries of Assyria had added. I was

al - la - ku ha - an - du ina ki - rib Ninua il - walking round in the midst of Nineveh, and

ip - se- e - ti an - na - a - ti lib - bi i - gug

these things my heart

(v. gu - ug) va iz-za--ru - uh ka - bi - ti [ina was bitter and much afflicted; [by

 $\langle |\underline{E}| = |\underline{V}| |\underline{V}| \rangle$  $\rightarrow -\underline{V} \langle \underline{V}| \rightarrow -\underline{V} \rangle$  $\leftarrow [\underline{E}| ]\underline{V}|$  $\leftarrow [\underline{E}| ]\underline{V}|$ <td

e -mu - ki ya zi - ra - a - ti sa Assur va gathered my powerful forces, which Assur and

Istar u - mal - lu -u qa - tu -u a a - na Mu - zur Ishtar had placed in my hands. To Egypt

va Ku - u - si us - te - se - ra mur - ra - nu ina and Ethiopia I directed the march; in

D

har

a - hi [tam - ti va qabal tam - ti] ka - li

the side of the [sea and the middle of the sea,] all

72. FIN FIN FIN FIN FRENT 73. FENT FIN FIN FRENT THE SETT FOR THE SETT

na - ra - ru - ti ha-mad sa sarri ki - pa- a - ni the entire aid (i.e. restoration) of the kings and governors

78. 資子 (国 学子 (エーデントー (新) 医子 (京 ) sa ki - rib Mu - zur ardi - (ni) da - gil pa - ni who in the midst of Egypt (were) tributaries dependent on

ya ur - ru - hi - is ar - de - e va al - lik me; quickly I descended and went

a- di Kar - ba - ni - ti Tar - qu - u şar to Karbanit. Tirhakah king

- Mu zur va Ku u si ki rib Mi im pi a lak of Egypt and Ethiopia, in the midst of Memphis, of the
- gar ri ya is me e va a na e pis qabal progress of my expedition heard; and to make war,
- 82. FIET I FELT IV FEL
- zabi taḥazi su ina tugul- ti Assur Istar va
  men of his army. In the service of Assur, Ishtar, and
- Ili rabati beli ya in taḥaz zir rap si

  the great Gods, my lords, on the wide battle field I
- Mi im pi is -ma-a talp te e umman su Memphis, heard of the defeat of his army;
- 87. Sil Ell II II II III IIII III III

maje

in - ni Ili su pan mas- ki Mi - im - pi to me(?) his Gods before my camp,

Memphis

u - vaṣ- ṣir va a- na su - zu - ub napis - ti su he abandoned, and to save his life

i - na lib - bi
the midst of it.

- 92. | FI | FIII | FIIII | FIII | FIII
- 93. | ETH | |
- 94. | Y -- | | < | Y | E | | < | E | | E | | E | | E | | E | | E | | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E | E
- 96. Y SANJEJ WY SANJAY SANJAY

- 99. | FIII FI A FIII FI I A CONTROL OF SATE NA at hu u

  Unamunu king of Natho.
- Har şi ya e -su şar Zab nu u ti

  Horsiesis king of Sebennytus.
- 102. Y III III Qu sar Bu si ru

  Sheshonk king of Busiris.
- Tap na aḥ ti ṣar Bu nu bu

  Tnephachthus king of Bunubu.
- Pu uk -ku na an ni ha pi sar Ah ni

  Pukkunanni-hapi king of Akhni.
- Na aḥ ti -ḥu- ru- an- si -ni ṣar Pi sab ḍi -nu- ti

  Necht-hor-ansini king of Pi-sabdinut.

- Bu kur ni ni ip şar Pa aḥ nu ti

  Bukur-ninip king of Pachnut.
- 109. | FI | FIII | FIII
- Is pi -ma-a du sar Ta ai ni

  Ispinathu king of Abydos.
- - sarri an-nu-ti sanuti ki -pa-a-ni
    These kings, prefects, and governors,
- sa ki rib Mu zur u pa ki du abu whom in the midst of Egypt, the father my begetter had
- ba nu-u a sa la pa- an ti bu-ut Tar qu u appointed; who before the advance of Tirhakah
- pi kit ta su- un u -vas-se- ru im lu -u zer their appointments had left, and fled to the desert,

H → → → → → → → → → → → → → → ← → → ←

Ku - u- si sa abu ba - nu-u a ik - su - du a- na Ethiopia, which the father my begetter had captured, again

es - su - ti az - bat mazirti e - li sa im - mi pa - ni um I took, the bonds more than in former days

Ninua arka - nu (v. ar - ka - a - nu) şarri

Nineveh. Afterwards all those kings

an - nu - ti ma - la ap - ki - du ina a - di ya whom I had appointed sinned against me;

ih - du - u la iz - zu - ru ma-mit Ili rabati
they did not keep the oath of the great Gods.

#### COLUMN II.

- 1.  $\begin{picture}(20,0) \put(0,0){\line(1,0){120}} \put(0,0){\line(1,0){$
- - ku sir mi (v. im) li ku ra man su un they counselled among themselves;

  - he e ru rak be e su un um ma directed their messengers, thus:

- su -lum mu u ina bi ri in ni lis sa kin va (May an alliance by this treaty be established, and own
- 11. The state of the second of
- 12. THE part of the country on the other side we will strengthen, and may there not
- in bi ri (-in) ni sa-nu- uv -va be luv a-na be in this treaty any other lord."

  14. If I a line in the interval in the interval in the interval inte
- umman Assur e-muq bi- lu ti ya sa a- na the army of Assyria the force of my dominion, which to
- kit ri su nu us zi zu is te ni hu u their aid had been raised, they devised
- a-mat limut ti su -ut- saki ya a-ma-a-ti a wicked plot. My generals of this plot
- an na -a ti is -mu-u rak -be- e su un a di heard; their messengers and
- | Sip ra a ti su-nu iz ba tu niv va e mu ru their dispatches they captured, and saw
- ip sit sur- ra a ti su un sarri an nu ti their seditions work. These kings

cas

lefi

1 the

20. \(\begin{align\*} \begin{align\*} \begin{align\*}

parzil(?)

u -tam-mi-hu qati va niri ma-mit Assur iron,

bound their hands and feet. The oath of Assur

sar Ili ik -su - us - su -nu - ti va sa king of the Gods took them who

ih - du - u ina a - de - e (Ili) rabati sinned against the great (Gods);

da - ab - ti qa -tus su- un u - ba - hi - i va sa who had sought the good of their hands, and who

e - pu - su ṣu - nu - ti du - un - qu va nisi had given them favours; and the people

Sa - ai Bi - in - di - di Za - ha - nu of Sais,

Mendes,

Zoan,

 I → See
 27.
 See
 II → Company (III)
 III → Company (III)

w (♣) (Y-Y-Y-) ≥ Y > A--Y (. 33. Y > Y sa limut - [ti] is - te - ni - hu - u a- na ta had devised evil against

ummani Assur bal - du - (us) - su - nu a - na the army of Assyria, alive to

Ninua a- di maḥ - [ri] ya u - bil -u- ni

Nineveh into my presence they brought.

I 

Su as - pur lu - bul - tu bir -mi u - lab - bi - şu him I sent.

Costly garments I placed upon him,

- susi pari a [na horses, and mules for his

\$\frac{\text{suru}}{\text{suru}} \times \frac{\text{V}}{\text{V}} \text{V} \text{V}

ya sanuti a- na [Mu - zur it] - ti su as governors, to [Egypt] with him I

as-pur a- sar abu ban-u a ina sa - ai a- na sent.

The place where the father my begetter, in Sais to

\$\frac{\text{\$\finterintetet{\$\frac{\text{\$\frac{\text{\$\frac{\text{\$\frac{\text{\$\frac{\text{\$\frac{\text{\$\frac{\text{\$\frac{\text{\$\frac{\text{\$\frac{\text{\$\frac{\text{\$\frac{\text{\$\frac{\text{\$\frac{\text{\$\frac{\text{\$\frac{\text{\$\frac{\text{\$\frac{\tinc{\tinx{\$\frac{\text{\$\frac{\text{\$\frac{\text{\$\frac{\text{\$\frac{\tinx{\$\circ{\text{\$\frac{\text{\$\frac{\text{\$\frac{\text{\$\frac{\text{\$\frac{\text{\$\frac{\text{\$\frac{\text{\$\frac{\text{\$\frac{\tinx{\$\frac{\text{\$\frac{\text{\$\frac{\text{\$\frac{\tick{\$\frac{\tinx{\$\frac{\text{\$\frac{\tick{\$\frac{\tick{\$\frac{\tick{\$\frac{\ticl{\$\frac{\tick{\$\frac{\tick{\$\frac{\tick{\$\frac{\tick{\$\frac{\ticex{\$\frac{\frac{\tick{\$\frac{\frac{\tick{\$\frac{\tick{\$\frac{\circ{\$\frac{\circ{\circ{\circ{\$\frac{\circ{\$\frac{\circ{\$\frac{\circ{\$\frac{\circ{\$\frac{\circ{\$\frac{\circ{\$\frac{\circ{\$\frac{\c

u - tir su (va) Nabu - se-zib-a - ni ablu su restored him; (and) Neboshazban his son

dru

Lan

damqatu eli sa abi ba - ni ya u - sa - tir beyond [those] of the father my begetter, I caused to restore,

in -nab- tu su - ru -bat kakki Assur bil ya fled; the might of the soldiers of Assur my

is - hup su va il - lik simti mu - si su lord overwhelmed him, and he went to his place of night (i.e. died).

- arka nu Ur da ma ne e ablu bilati su

  Afterwards Rudammon, son of his consort,

alu dan - nu - ti su is - kun u - paḥ - ḥi - ra his fortified city he made, and he gathered

el -lat su a - na mit- hu - zi ummani ya [abli] his forces to fight my army, [the sons]

Assur sa ki-rib Mi - im - pi it - ka - a of Assyria; who within Memphis gathered in the

 → □
 59.
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Variant Passage, Cylinder B, Variant for Column I, Lines 65 to 77, Cylinder A.

a. All is the first of the firs

Assur va Istar u -mal-lu qa-tu-u-a a-na Assur and Ishtar had placed in my hands. For

na - ra - ru - ti ha - mad, &c. the restoration of, &c.

Additional Passage, Cylinder C, for Column I, Lines 70, 71, Cylinder A.

<i>b</i> .	Y → Y ← Y ← XY Ba - ha - al Bahal	sar king of	Çur - ri  Tyre,
c.	* * * * * *	șar king of	Ya - u - di  Judah,
d.	* * * * * *	şar king of	U - du - mi Edom,
е.	* * * * * *	sar king of	Ma - ha - ab  Moab,
f.	* * * * * *	șar king of	₩ ₩ ► ₩ ► ₩ Ḥa - zi - ti Gaza,
g.	* * * * * *	şar king of	Iz - qa - lu - na Askelon,
h.	* * * * * *	şar king of	Av - gar - ru - na  Ekron,
i.	* * * * * *	șar king of	Gu - ub - li  Gebal,
j.	* * * * * *	0 0	A - ru - a - di Arvad,
q.		da - ar	i lost.  Living of Paphos,  Pa - ap - pa  Ring of Paphos,

Cylinders B and C omit the last fourteen Egyptian kings, Column i, lines 98 to 111, Cylinder A.

Cylinder B, Column II, Lines 1 to 12, Variant Passage for Column II, Lines 25 to 50, Cylinder A.

1. Sais, Mendes, and Zoan,

\langle \( \) \(

ali u - ḥal- lib [ṣarri an - nu - ti sa] ina of the cities I destroyed. [Those kings whom] in

limut - ti is - te - ni - hu - u a- na] abli Assur devised evil against] the sons of Assyria,

# Fragment of Column I, Cylinder E.

- 3. [Y-W] ETH EY Y ETH Y-W (IE) FEY Y (IY [Assur] ah iddina sar Assur abu ba -nu-u a Esarhaddon king of Assyria, the father my begetter,
- 4. [FIII] FI FIII FIII V 5. [(I-) (I-) [ir] -du va il li -ku ki rib sa abikta had descended and gone into the midst of it; the over-
- Tar qu u sar Ku u si is ku nu va throw of Tirhakah king of Ethiopia he had accomplished, and
- Ku u şu ik su du va [ina la] me ni

  Ethiopia he had taken, and its innumerable
- is lu la sal la as su [matu su] a tu ina spoils he had carried off; that country, the
- $(v. | Y \rightarrow Y) = | Y = | Y \rightarrow Y = | Y$
- | Assur u tir sumi the borders of Assyria he added. The former

alani mah - ru - u - ti u - nak - kir va names of the cities he abolished, and

- ardi su a na saru ti san u ti

  his servants to the kingdoms and governments
- u -pa ki da ina lib bi

  he appointed in the midst;

  15. ASTIW ( EII = EI EII

  bilat man- da at tu

  taxes and tribute

Extract from K, 3083, which connects line 15 of this Fragment with K, 2675, and K, 228.

a. → III ← IIII ← III ← IIII ← II

が、
55 zalam şaru - ti su- nu * * * * *
55 of their royal statues * * * * *
li - i -tu ki - sit - ti qati su va * * * * *  the glory acquired by his hands and * * * * *
d. > EY YK YY YY = FYYY ↑ → ♥ (E) = YYY % % % % % % ina ma- ha-za-a- ni e - ziri sa ki - rib * * * * *
in the cities and temples, which are in the midst * * * *
e. (F)(4-)(1) (+ F))(F) ( (
ul - tu abu ba -nu- u a im [nu- u] * * * *
from the father my begetter revolted * * * *
f.
Tar - qu - u ba - lu Ili a [na] ****
Tirhakah against the Gods to * * * *
K, 2675, AND K, 228. OBVERSE LINES 2 TO 69.
2.   >=
2.   大江
2.   >=
2.   Simple of the control of the co
2.   SINE SINE SINE SINE SINE SINE SINE SINE
2.   一
2.   SINE SINE SINE SINE SINE SINE SINE SINE
2.   Simplified a sum of the sum
2.   Image: In the control of the co

- ya e mi is va it ta gil a na e muq despised, and trusted to his own
- ra -ma- ni su il li kan va ki rib Mi im pi might. He came and into Memphis
- e ru uv -va alu su a tu u tir ra -ma-nu su he entered, and that city he restored to himself.
- ardani da gil pa ni ya sa Assur -aḥ -iddina
  were tributaries dependent on me, whom Esarhaddon
- sar Assur abu ba-nu- u a a-na sar u ti king of Assyria, the father my begetter, to the kingdoms had
- ip ki du ina lib bi a- na da a ki ḥa- ba a te appointed in the midst [of it], to slay, plunder, and

ip -se - e - ti an - na - a - ti lib - bi i - gu - ug va iz-za these things my heart was bitter and much

sanuti a - di zabi qati su-nu e -mu- ki ya prefects and the troops in their hands, my powerful

zirati a - na na - ra - ru - ti ha -mad sa forces, for the restoration of the

șarri sanuti ardana da -gil pa- ni ya kings and prefects tributaries dependent on me;

ur - ru - ut de - e - mu as - kun su - nu - ti
an urgent command I gave them, the

mur - ra - an Mu - zur u - sa - as - ki - na sepi su- un road to Egypt I caused their feet to take;

a - di Kar - ba - ni - ti Tar - qu - u şar to Karbanit. Tirhakah king of

Ku -u- și sa a- lak umman ya ki - rib Mi - im - pi Ethiopia who, of the progress of my army in the midst of Memphis is -me- e (v. va)

16. If  $\rightarrow$  I  $\rightleftharpoons$  II  $\rightleftharpoons$  III  $\rightleftharpoons$ 

TAN I MAN AND STAND THE STAND AND STAND STAND AND STAND STAND STAND AND STAND AND STAND STAND STAND STAND

ya a-lik i-di ya ina taḥaz zeri abikta su who march before me; in the battle field his overthrow they

is - ku - nu zabi tug- la - ti su u - ra - aṣ - ṣi - bu ina accomplished, his fighting men they destroyed with the present

kakki sa-a-su hat-tu pa-luh-tu im-kut şu husword.

Himself, terrible fear struck him,

va il - li - ku maḥ - ḥu - ur ul - tu and he went back.

20. (\*) \* E! va ul - tu From

Mi - im - pi alu - şaru - ti su a - sar tu - gul - ti su Memphis his capital city and his fortified place,

21. If  $\rightarrow$  If

 u -vas- sar va e -dis ip -par- sid va ki - rib Ni - ha abandoned and fled alone, and into Thebes

e - ru - ub elappi qa - ra - bi ma - la it - ti su he entered.

23. 

| FINITE | FIN

zabi taḥaz u -zab-bi-tu ina qati a - mir the fighting men took in hand.

24. ETH YY LEII

a - mir

A messenger

bu - us - su - rat ha - de - e - da - a ut - ra ig - ba - a of good tidings hastily?) returned, and

ya - a - si rab - sak sanuti şarri told me. The rabshakeh, prefects, and kings,

e - bir nar ardi da -gil pa - ni ya kali su- un across the river, tributaries dependent on me all of them

a- di e-mu- ki su-nu elappi su-nu ṣarri with their forces and their ships; the kings

Mu - zur ardi da -gil pa- ni ya a - di e - mu - qi of Egypt, tributaries dependent on me, with their forces

su-nu elappi su-nu a- na hul - lu - uq

and their ships; to drive

Tar - qu - u ul - tu ki - rib Mu - zur va Ku - u- și

Tirhakah out of Egypt and Ethiopia,

eli e-mu-ki ya zir-ra-a-ti u-rad-di
to my powerful forces I added

Tar- qu - u şar Ku-u-şi il - li -ku ma-lak of Tirhakah king of Ethiopia they went, a journey of

araḥ 10 immi

Tar- qu - u sa a-lak umman ya one month and ten days.

Tirhakah who of the progress of my army

is -me- e Ni- ha alu dan-nu- ti su u -vas- sar heard; Thebes his fortified city abandoned

va Ya - ru - hu - u e - bir [ina mat] and the Nile he crossed over; on the

II → II → III → I EI → I EI → III → IIII → IIIII → IIII → IIII

Sar - lu - da - ri Pa - aq - ru - ru şarrî sa Sarludari, and Paqruru, kings whom

Assur va Ili rabati beli ya e - ti - qu - (u)

of Assur and the great Gods my lords, forsook,

va ip - ru - zu ma-mit sun dab - ti abi ba - ni and broke their pledges; the benefits of the father my

ya im - su va lib - ba su-nu- ti ik - bu-ud limut - tu begetter they despised, and their hearts devised evil;

da -bab - ti gur - ra - a - ti id - bu - bu va mi - lik seditious words they spoke, and evil

la ku - sir im - li -ku ra -man su- un um - ma council they counselled among themselves; thus:

Tar-qu-u ul-tu ki-rib Mu-zur i-na-kit-u
"Tirhakah from the midst of Egypt is cut off,

va at - tu - ni a - sa - ba ni mi - i -nu e - li
and to us our seats are numbered."

38. 

V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V - S | V -

Tar - qu - u şar Ku-u-şi a - na sa - kan a - de - e

Tirhakah king of Ethiopia to make agreement

va sa - li - mi u -ma- he - e - ru rak-be - e su- un and alliance, they directed their messengers

u?

mat a-he-en-na-a ni-zu-uz va ai ib-ba-si the country on the other side we will strengthen, and let there not be

- 二-||( 長冊 〒 ♥ ナ 片||| 頁 × 食 41. || 一 | ina bi - ri - in - ni sa - nu - uv - va be - luv in this treaty any other lord." Against

公会下以 是 张 写 三八二四 以 明 为 二三百 umman Assur gab-sa-a-ti ya is -te-ni-hu-u the army of Assyria, my strength, they devised a

『 \*\* (小山 - ch 42. 『 - r ) 目 - c (v. - r ) 二) a - na su - zu - ub (v. na - bi) two a-mat limut - ti To save wicked plot.

其以其 [ ] [ ] 多 [ ] 多 [ ] [ ] na - pis - ti su- un ik - ri - mu ḥul - lu - qu a - di their lives being captured; they separated, until

su - ut - saki ya a -ma - a - ti la ba-se-e there were none [together]. My generals of this plot

an - na - a - ti is - mu-u va ik - ki - lu nik - lat şun plans; prevente andconcealedtheir heard,

44. 异种 夕 二 引 【 引 】 【 】 【 】 【 】 【 】 】 【 】 】 【 】 】 rak-be-e su-un a-di sip-ra-a-ti su-nu their messengers and their instructions

17月1年《江田兰水道河道、京京三 iz - ba - tu - niv - va e - mu - ru ip - sit sur - ra - a - ti they captured, and saw their seditious

Sar - lu - da - ri Ni - ik - ku - u su- un Sarludari and Necho work.

 $E \rightarrow \langle \langle E \rangle - E \rightarrow | \langle E \rangle \rangle$  iz -bat-u-niv-va ina bi-ri-ti parzil(?) is -qa-ti parzil(?) they took, and in bonds of iron and fetters of iron

u -tam- mi - hu qati va niri ma mit Assur sar they bound their hands and feet.

46. El - - - | & Eim ma mit Assur sar they bound their hands and feet.

The oath of Assur king

Thi ik -su - uṣ - ṣu -nu- ti va sa iḥ - ḍu - u of the Gods took them, who sinned

u - ba - hi - i va sa e - pu - su - nu - ti du - un - qu of their hands and who had given them favours;

48. ⟨Y-\boxed{\text{E}} \infty \frac{\text{YYY}}{\text{yesses}} \rightarrow \boxed{\text{E}}\frac{\text{Y}}{\text{yesses}} \rightarrow \boxed{\text{E}}\frac{\text{Y}}{\text{yesses}} \rightarrow \boxed{\text{E}}\frac{\text{Y}}{\text{yesses}} \rightarrow \boxed{\text{Y}}\frac{\text{Y}}{\text{yesses}} \rightarrow \boxed{\text{E}}\frac{\text{Y}}{\text{yesses}} \rightarrow \boxed{\text{Y}}\frac{\text{Y}}{\text{yesses}} \boxed{\text{yesses}} \text{vist} \quad \quad \text{vist} \quad \quad \text{vist} \quad \quad \text{vist} \quad \text{vist} \quad \text{vist} \quad \te

\* \* \* \* \* \* ik - bu - du a-mat limut - ti zaḥiri va \* \* \* \* \* \* devised an evil design. Small and

[Ninua] a - di maḥ - ri ya ub - lu - ni va
[Nineveh] to my presence they brought; and

dam - qa - a - ti a - na Ni - ik - ku - u arad favours: to Necho the tributary

da - [gil pa - ni ya sa abu banu-u a a - na ṣar - u] - te dependent [on me, whom the father my begetter to the kingdom]

ip - ki - du ina Kar-belu-matati re - e - mu
had appointed in Kar-belmatati. Favour I

(I--I)(I) (I-I) EI EIII I-I) I-I EI I-I EI I-I EI I-I I-I

a - de - e ni - is Ili eli sa maḥ - [ri the observances of the Gods stronger than before [I

u - sar - hi - is su va lu - [bul - ti bir - mi I caused to rejoice, and [costly] garments

sangu- ti su gir sib- bi sa aḥ - zu su ḥuraz his feet, a scimitar, the sheath of which was gold,

THE FINE WELL SELLY SEL

susi pari a - na [saru] - ti
horses, and mules for his kingdom

I II  $\langle x \rangle = x \rangle$  60. Sim  $x \rangle = x \rangle$  su a - kis - su su - ut - saki ya appointed; my generals as

sanuti a - na [Mu-zur it] - ti su as - pnr governors to [Egypt] with him I sent.

[Kar-belu] matati sum su a- na ṣar -u-te ip-kid-du of which is Kar-belmatati; to the kingdom had appointed

damqatu eli sa abi ba - ni ya u - sa - tir va favours, beyond those of the father my begetter, I caused to restore, and

e - pu - uṣ ṣu va Nabu - se-zib- an - ni ablu su gave to him: and Neboshazban his son

ina [Ḥa]- at - ḥa - ri - ba sa Li - mir - Athribes which Limir-

pa-te-si-assur sum su a-na sar-u-te as-kun patesi-Assur is its name; to the kingdom I appointed.

va u -ma- hi - ir ma-a- tu

ni - ha a- na

and governed the country.

Thebes he

dan-nu-ti su is - kun u -pa- hir el -lat su fortified for himself, and gathered his forces

69. II I EII EII EXII EXII EXII EXII EXIII EXIII EXIII EXIII a - na e - pis qabal va taḥaz eli umman ya to make war and battle, against my army

kakki su u -sat-ba - a iz - ba - ta mur - ra - na har his soldiers he brought forward, and took the road.

The first expedition of Assurbanipal was directed against Muzur, Heb. מִצְרָיִם (Egypt), and Kūṣu, Heb. בּוּשׁ Ethiopia. No name resembling Muzur can be found in the hieroglyphics; but Kūsu is the same as the Egyptian 🔀 🛶 Kuşi. Kūşu, or Kush, appears in the Assyrian inscriptions to include part of Upper Egypt as well as Ethiopia; for although Esarhaddon's conquests did not extend higher than Thebes, he is said to have conquered both Muzur Cylinder A gives at the commencement Magan or Makan instead of Muzur, and Miluhha instead of Kush. The name Magan for some land in this region is very ancient, but only known in the cuneiform inscriptions. Miluhha has been thought to be the same as Meroe, the ancient capital of Ethiopia. During the first part of the reign of Esarhaddon Egypt and Ethiopia were under the rule of Tirhakah the of the hieroglyphics, who was driven out of Egypt by Esarhaddon. The re-conquest of Egypt by Tirhakah, at the close of the reign of Esarhaddon, was the cause of the first expedition of Assurbanipal. Here the Assyrian inscriptions differ, some (as Cylinder A) giving the command of this expedition to Assurbanipal himself; others (K, 2675) recording that he sent a general in command of the army. The list of kings of Syria and Cyprus who submitted on the road is, so far as it is preserved, the same as that of Esarhaddon ("North British Review," No. 104, p. 328). The first city in Egypt mentioned in relation to this expedition is Karbanit. This is evidently an Assyrian name; and, as the city lay near the frontier, is possibly the name given by Esarhaddon to Pelusium. Here the battle took place, which once more gave the country to the Assyrians. On conquering Egypt, Assurbanipal restored the twenty kings who had been set up by Esarhaddon and dethroned by Tirhakah; the leader of these was Necho, hier. — 🕍 🦒 Nekau, who was king of Mimpi, or Memphis, hier. 🚞 🕽 🚵 👶 Mennefer, then the capital city, and Sai or Sais, hier. The second king, Sarludari, was evidently an Assyrian, the name is a common one at this period, and is written in various ways; the full form is found 

meaning "long live the king." Sarludari was king of Zihinu, which probably represents Pelusium, the Hebrew יכִי, the modern The third king was Pisan-huru, hier. 1 Fishen-hor, he was ruler of Nathu, the island of Natho, hier. 7 🗢 🦒 🔊 Natru? The fourth king, Paqruru, hier. 🧩 🕿 Paqrar, had his seat at Pisabtu, hier. Take Pi-supt. The fifth name, Pukkunannihapi, is evidently Egyptian, but has not yet been identified; he was king of Ḥatḥiribi, or Athribis, hier. The sixth king has likewise an unidentified Egyptian name, he ruled at Henins, Heb. דְּנֵכֵּם The seventh king is Pudu-bisti, or Petubastes, hier. Petsibast; he ruled at Zahan, or Tanis, Hebrew צָּיָטָן modern San. The eighth king, Unamuna, ruled at Nathu, either another place called Natho or hier. Ntahru (Dendera). The ninth name is Har-si-yesu, hieroglyphic Hor-si-esi; he was king of Zabnuti or Sebennytus. The tenth name is Buaiva, hier. ] } 4 } } Buaiuva; he ruled at Bindidi, or Mendes, hier. Bentat. The eleventh king, Susing, or Shishak, hier. Mill Sheshang; ruled at Busiru (Busiris), hier. Pi-osiri-nebt. The twelfth king, Tap-naht, or Tnephachthus, hier. - 🗼 🗀 🕽 Taf-necht; ruled at Bunubu, probably hier. Bunbun. The thirteenth name, Pukkunannihapi, is the same as the fifth; his seat was at Ahni, possibly Heracleopolis. The next king Ipti-har-desu, ruled at Pizatti-hurunpiku. The fifteenth monarch has the name Nahtihuru-ansini; the first two elements in this name are equivalent to hier. 💢 🐣 Necht-har; he was king of Pisabdinut. Bukur-ninip, the sixteenth king, was an Assyrian; he ruled at Pahnuti. The position of the four last cities is doubtful, they were probably in Middle Egypt. Ziha, the seventeenth monarch, ruled at Siyaut, or Siyout, hier. 3 1 Saut. The next king, Lamintu, had his seat at Himuni or Chemmis, heir. \ \mathbf{Y} \omega Hem-men. The nineteenth king was Ispi-madu of Taini, Thin,

or Abydos, hier. " " Teni. The name of the last king, Manti-mi-anhe, contains the Egyptian elements Muntu-mi-anche, but has not yet been found as a proper name; he was king of Niha, Heb. 13, Thebes; this name has not been found in hieroglyphics, the usual Egyptian names of Thebes being Apt, and Lab; but the Hebrew and Assyrian name for this city, resembles Nahai, one of the names of Egypt. The narrative describes the intrigues carried on by these restored monarchs, led by Necho, Sarludari, and Paqruru, after the return of Assurbanipal to Nineveh, and their attempt to revolt, in conjunction with Tirhakah; the destruction of some of the cities, the captivity of Necho and Sarludari, and Tirhakah's death. The Egyptian inscriptions, and especially the Apis Stele, give us the reign of Tirhakah as immediately preceding that of Psammitichus (the son of Necho king of Sais). One Apis Stele gives us the following: "Year 20, 12th month, day 20, of the reign of Psammitichus, an apis died, and was buried in year 21, 2nd month, day 25; he was born year 26 of Tirhakah, and was enthroned in Memphis, 8th month, day 9, making 21 years." According to this tablet, there were about twenty-seven years between the accession of Tirhakah and that of Psammitichus. The successor of Tirhakah, called by the Assyrians Urdamane, has been identified with the Egyptian royal name ( I SY) Rutammon; but another identification has been brought forward since; Dr. Haigh has suggested that Urdamane is the 14 ( ) ( ) ( ) ( Nut-mi-ammon, or Ammon-mi-nut, whose history as given on the stele discovered by M. Mariette in 1863, has a remarkable likeness to the Assyrian account of Urdamane. According to this tablet Nut-mi-ammon, when he came to the throne, had a dream, in which he saw two serpents, one on his right hand, the other on his left; and this dream was explained to him to mean that, as he possessed the south (Ethiopia), he should take the north (Egypt). He then set out at the head of his army, and marched to Elephantina; from there he went to Thebes, and from Thebes he approached Memphis. Here the chiefs of Lower Egypt disputed his advance; but, after defeating them, he entered the city in

triumph. While he stayed at Memphis, Paqrar, or Paqruru, the chief of Pi-supt, the leader of the rulers of Lower Egypt came and made submission to him.\* Paqruru of Pisupt is evidently the fourth king in the Assyrian list, and the capture of Memphis by Ammon-mi-nut parallels the taking of Memphis by Urdamane. The cuneiform name of the Nile, Yaruhu, is the equivalent of the Hebrew אָאָרָה. Exodus i, 22.

<sup>\*</sup> A translation of this Stele by M. Maspero is given in "Revue Archeologique," Mai, 1868.

## PART III.

The Second Egyptian War.

### TEXTS.

There are only two texts of this part of the history; one is the text common to Cylinders A, B, and C, found on Cylinder A, col. ii, lines 61 to 83; the other is K, 2675, obverse line 70 to reverse line 5.

CYLINDER A, COLUMN II, LINES 61 TO 83.

- 61.  $\rightarrow$  ||  $\rightleftharpoons$ ||  $\Rightarrow$ ||
- Ku u si Us te es se ra uur ra nu Ethiopia I directed the march.
- Ur da -ma- ne e

  Rudammon of

  63. || \( \) \
- EEE
- Mi- im pi u -vas- sir va a- na su zu ub

  Memphis he abandoned, and to save his

- napisti su in na bit a na ki rib Ni ha life he fled into Thebes.
- sarri sanuti ki pa a ni sa

  The kings, prefects, and governors, whom
- il lik u niv va u na as si qu sepi ya came, and kissed my feet.
- arku Ur da -ma- ne e mur ra -nu az -bat

  After Rudammon the road I took;

- u -vas- sir in na bit a na Ki ip ki pi he abandoned, and fled to Kipkip.
- alu su a tu a na și ḥir ti su ina tugulti

  That city (Thebes) the whole of it, in the service of
- Assur va Istar ik su da qata ai kasap huraz

  Assur and Ishtar my hands took; silver, gold,

· tar

- ni-sik- ti abni sa- su e kal su ma- la ba- su- u precious stones, the furniture of his palace, all there was;
- 74. III M II AFE I- + I- M III Susi rabati garments costly and beautiful (?), great horses,
- 75. FIN I FIN CONTROL TO THE TOTAL TO THE TOTAL TO THE TOTAL THE T
- zirati pi ti ig (v. tig) za ḥa le e ib bi
  obelisks covered with beautiful carving,
- \* \* 100 bilati paṣaḥ su-nu man-za az bab ezar \* \* hundred talents their weight, set up before the gate of a temple,
- Assur [sal-lat su] ina la mi-ni as lu la Assyria. [Its spoils] unnumbered I carried off.
- (FIR A) (IE) FINI FINI APP 80. [(FIF) White all tu ki rib Ni ha [eli From the midst of Thebes, over
  - Mu zur] Ku- u și kakki ya
    Egypt and Ethiopia; my servants I
  - [E][F] = F[V] = F[V] = F[V] = 82. [u] sam ri ir va  $[as tak] kan \quad li i tu$   $caused \quad to \quad march, \quad and \quad I \quad acquired \quad glory.$

it - ti ma - da - te sal - mis a - tu - ra a - na

With the tributes peacefully I returned to

# 图(国-三三大里)

Ninua alu bilu- ti ya Nineveh, the city of my dominion.

K, 2675, Obverse Line 70 to Reverse Line 5.

beli ya ina taḥaz zer rap - si abikta su my lords; in the wide battle field his overthrow they

is - ku - nu u - par - ri - ru el - lat șu accomplished, and dispersed his forces.

72. | III EN EN FIV FIV | III A FIV EN FIV SIV E E Ur - da - ma - ne - e e - dis ip - par - sid va e - ru - ub

Rudammon fled alone, and entered

a - na Ni - ha alu ṣaru - ti su ma - lak araḥ into Thebes, his capital city. A journey of a month

il - li - ku a - di ki - rib Ni - ha alu they went, to the midst of Thebes. That city,

roads

e was

a - bu - bis like a storm.

## REVERSE.

- Huraz kaşap e -par mat su ni -sik- ti abni
  Gold and silver, the dust of his country, precious stones,
- ma \* ak ru ni sir ti [e -] kal [su] lu bul ti valuables(?) treasures of his palace, garments
- bir -mi kitui susi rabati nisi costly and beautiful (?), great horses, people
- zikir va sinnis \* \* \* \* za-a ti pa ge e male and female, bazati(?) page and
- u qu pi tar bit sad- di su un ina la mi- ni uqupi, the products of their mountains, without number,
- Image: Second of the city
   Image: Second of the city
   5.
   II → II → III → II

In the two versions of the second Egyptian war there is the same difference as that noticed in the former part. One narrative (Cylinder A) representing Assurbanipal as invading Egypt a second time, and driving out Urdamane; while K, 2675, represents Urdamane to have been defeated and expelled by the Assyrian forces in Egypt.

gir

## PART IV.

The Siege of Tyre and the Affairs of Lydia.

### TEXTS.

The two principal texts of the Tyrian campaign (Cylinders A and B) only differ in the earlier part by Cylinder B introducing two clauses not found in Cylinder A; these are marked in parentheses (b, &c.). The latter part of this division in Cylinder B is sufficiently different to be given separately. The texts will then be Cylinder A, col. ii, line 84, to col. iii, line 42 (the clauses introduced in Cylinder B being in lines 86 and 87), Cylinder B, col. ii, line 54, to col. iii, line 4, K, 2675, reverse lines 13 to 31, and a fragment of Cylinder E.

Cylinder A, Column II, Line 84, to Column III, Line 42.

 (v. al)
 sar
 Zur - ri
 \* \* \* \* lu - u al - lik

 king
 of
 Tyre
 \* \* \* \*
 I
 went;

la is -mu-u zi - kar sap - ti (v. sapti) ya did not hear the words of my lips;

- nisi su u -dan nin ma zir tu) ina tam ti

  people, I strengthened, the watch) on sea

For?

- va na ba li gar ri ti su u -zab bit (b. a lak ta and land; his roads I took; (b. his going out
- su ab ru uz me va te hu u ta ba lad I stopped, water and sea water to preserve
- ina mi- și ri dan ni sa la na -par- su di e și ir by a strong blockade, which removed not, I besieged

- 92. If  $\Rightarrow$  |  $\Rightarrow$  |

one

EY ~ ( ) ~ EY = [ ] SEY SEY 94. EY SY ( FYY = C) [ ] ma-ti si-mat la e-bi-ra is -te-nis u-sat-[gil] mission of the country and an unequalled present(?) at once he entrusted,

ahi su it - ti tir - ha- ti ma- ha - aṣ - ṣi of his brothers, with their great downies, I

am - har su re - e - mu ar - si su va ablu zi - it received. Favour I granted him, and the son proceeding

Ya - ki - in - lu - u sar A-ru - ad - da

Yakinlu king of Arvad,

a - sib qabal tam - ti sa a - na şarri dwelling in the midst of the sea, who to the kings

abi ya la kan-su ik -nu-sa a- na niri my fathers was not submissive, submitted to my yoke,

ya binat şu it - ti nu - dun - ne - e his daughter, with many gifts,

ma- ha - [di] a- na e- pis sal tuglu -u- ti a- na for a concubine to

Ninua u - bil - av - va u - na - as -siq sepi ya

Nineveh he brought, and kissed my feet.

abi ya is(?) pu(?) da -za-a- ti bi - in - tu my fathers made(?) depredations, the daughter

zi - it lib - bi su va tir - ha - ti proceeding from his body, and her great

ma- ha - aṣ - ṣi a - na e - pis sal tuglu - u - ti

dowry,

for

a concubine

a - na Ninua u - bil - av - va u - na - as - siq to Nineveh he brought, and kissed

sepi ya e - li Mu - gal - li my feet. Over Mugallu

susi rabati man- da - at - tu mat- ti
great horses and the tribute of the country the

sam -ma u -kin zir - us -su Sa -an - da - sar - mi sum I fixed upon him.

Sandasarmi of

- Hi-lak ka ai sa a na sarri abi ya

  Cilicia, who to the kings my fathers
- bintu zi it lib bi su it ti nu dun ne e

  the daughter proceeding from his body, with many
- ma- ha di a na e pis sal tuglu u ti gifts, for a concubine
- 115. If  $\rightarrow$  if
- sepi ya ul tu Ya ki in lu u şar my feet. From Yakinlu king of

- Ba ha al ya su pu

  Ba ha al ha al ha-nu-nu

  Bahalyasup,

  Bahalhanun,

- Ba ha al -ma- ln ku A bi- mil ki A ḥi mil ki Bahalmaluk, Abimelek, and Ahimelek,
- abli Ya ki in lu -u a sib qabal tam- ti sons of Yakinlu, dwelling in the midst
- ul tu qabal tam- ti e -su-niv -va it ti of the sea, from the midst of the sea arose, and with
- ta mar- ti su-nu ka bit tu il li -ku-niv -va
  their numerous presents came and
- ha-dis ap pa lis va a na sar -u ti A ru ad da gladly I received, and to the kingdom of Arvad
- as- kun A-bi-ba- ha- al A-du-ni-ba- al appointed.

  Abibahal, Adonibahal,
- Sa pa di ba al Sapadibahal,

## COLUMN III.

Pu - di - ba - al Ba - ha - al - ya - su - pu

Pudibahal,

Bahalyasup,

## 

窓	淡	総	窓	▲準 >>>	談	淡淡	談談	淡淡		溪	4. ≻	- <b>E</b> II	-11<1	FEYY
米	*	*	*	semiri	*	*	*	*	*	*	ina	maḥ -	ri	ya
紫	*	*	*	rings	*	*	*	*	*	*	in	my	pres	ence

- 6. The Companies of the sea, a remote place,
- 7. EYY EXT Y---- SEYY EYY -
- sum su

  ni bit saru ti ya kap ti ina suttu

  its name.

  The account of my grand kingdom
- u sap ri va Assur Ilu ba nu a um ma in a dream was related to him by Assur, the God my creator, thus:
- (E)  $10. \ (\bowtie E) \ -) \ \&E$  (sum ma) ina zi kar "The yoke \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* (when) in remembrance

- 12. Exit & X- | [X| X- E| | | | W A-- | E| | | | | rak bu su [is pu ra a na sa ha al his messenger [he sent, to pray for
- 14. FIN FIN I I I FIN EW FINE W -- I ina qati a mir su is pur av va u sa an by the hand of his envoy he sent, and repeated
- [na ya -a ti] ul tu lib bi im mi sa iz ba tu

  [to me]. From the midst of the day when he took the
- (E) [E; Y → Y ← E|Y] 16. E; Y → Y ← E|Y → Y ←
- mu da al li pu nisi [su] sa la wasters of [his] people, who did not
- ip tal la hu abi ya va at tu u a

  fear my fathers and me, and
- La iz-ba-tu niru şaru-ti ya ik-su-ud ina did not take the yoke of my kingdom, he captured, in
- tugul- ti Assur va Istar Ili beli ya ul tu the service of Assur and Ishtar the Gods my lords. From the
- lib (bi)

  midst of the chiefs of the Cimmerians,

 $\Psi$  -  $\Psi$  -

is - qa - ti parzil bi - ri - ti parzil u -tam- mi - ih of iron, and bonds of iron, he bound,

va it - ti ta - mar - ti su ka - bit - ti u -se-bi- la and with numerous presents, he caused

11 (1) EII - II EII 24. EII & Y II - II W II W

is - ta -nap-pa- ra u - sar -sa-a ba - di - il - tu constantly sending, he wilfully discontinued;

lib-bu e-mu- ki su a- na kit- ri Pi -sa-mi- il - ki his heart. His forces to the aid of Psammitichus

≍(Y €Ψ €) 30. 以六月日年上計月訓》至一起 a-na-ku as-me-e va u -sal- li Zal; d Ur is - pur va I heard [of it], and prayed to he sent; and

Assur va Istar um -ma pa- an nakiri su pa-gar su thus: "Before his enemies his corpse Assur and Ishtar

li - na - di va lis-su-u-ni ner-pad dui(?) su may they cast, and may they carry captive his attendants."

33. 云小(当) 注 彩彩井 \*\* am hu-ru is - li \* \* pa-an ki - i sa a- na Assur I had prayed, he requited me. Before When thus to Assur

はオーキは、 nakiri su pa-gar su in - na - di va is -su-u-ni his enemies his corpse was thrown down, and they carried captive

Gi - [mir] - ai sa ina ni - bit ner-pad-dui(?) su The Cimmerians whom by the glory his attendants.

※国¥中国 146% · 国图 36. 国图 5- 国图 sum ya sa - pal su ik - bu - su id - pu - [ku va] of my name he had trodden under him conquered and

「サー」」を見じて「影影影」を「 37. 三川 |is - pu - nu gi - mir mati su \* \* \* su ablu su u - sib swept the whole of his country \* \* \* su (Ardys) his son sat on

- 山今二川三三(今)小川一个中国 ina kuzzu su ip - sit limut - ti sa ina ni - is his throne, that evil work at the lifting up

£YY ≒EYY Ili ti - ik - li ya ina pa - an qati ya of my hands, the Gods my protectors in the time of the be laid

tw

abi bani (v. ba - ni) su u - sap - ri - ku ina qati father his begetter had destroyed. By the hand

a-mir su is - pur - av -va iz - ba - tu niri of his envoy he sent [word] and took the yoke

saru - ti ya um - ma sar sa Ilu i - du su at - ta of my kingdom thus: "The king whom God has blessed art thou;

41. EY ( IY EYYY [-=] EYYY II EY & (Y-II-Y EYY W IEXX abu-u a ultu [ka] il - lik va limuttu is -sa- kin my father from [thee] departed, and evil was done

ina pa-ni su ya-a- ti ardu hat-tu ka mat ban-ni- (i) in his time; I am thy devoted servant, and my people

# contrus 到月月月日日

ma- la su - da ab - sa - an ka all perform thy pleasure.

Cylinder B, Column II, Line 54, to Column III, Line 4, Variant for Cylinder A, Column II, Line 98, to Column III, Line 42.

- 54. FINE XEYWY EY IV YIV AH I IV AH I Zui

  u tir va a ri im su hal Zui

  I restored and favoured him. The towers
- sa eli Ba ha li ṣar Zur ri
  which over against Bahel king of Tyre
- 56.  $\Rightarrow | | | \Rightarrow \Rightarrow | \Rightarrow | \Rightarrow | \Rightarrow | \Rightarrow | \Rightarrow | \Rightarrow |$  | u rak ki su | ab tur | ina | tam ti | va | I | had | raised, | I | pulled | down; | on | sea | and |

- ab-ti ma-da-at-ta su ka-bit-tu am-ḥar su opened; his abundant tribute I received;
- 59. 

  | Second | Sec
- W ⟨|≠ || W = ⟨ ~| < 62. E|| ~| > − | | E|| \* ~| < E|| sa de e sa qu -u ti da na an ip -se ti ya in the lofty mountains, these my mighty
- an na a ti

  deeds

  63. \( \) \
- Ya ki in lu u sar A ru u a da

  Yakinlu king of Arvad,
- Mu-gal- lu şar Tab-a- la şa a- na şarri

  Mugallu king of Tubal, who to the kings
- abi ya la kan-su ik -nu-su a na niri ya my fathers were not submissive, submitted to my yoke.

ba

- tir ḥa ti ma ha aṣ ṣi a na e pis sal their great dowries, for concu-
- tuglu -u ti a na Ninua u -bi lu niv va
  bines to Nineveh they brought, and
- susi rabati ma-da-at-tu mat-ti
  great horses the tribute of the country
- Ya ki in lu u ṣar A ru ad da
  Yakinlu king of Arvad

- abli Ya ki in lu u a sib qabal tam ti sons of Yakinlu, dwelling in the midst of the sea,

- ta -mar ti su -nu ka bit tu il li -ku niv -va their numerous presents came and

- as kun

  A bi ba al

  Abibahal

  Adonibahal;

- Lu-ud- di na gu u sa ni bir ti ab ba

  Lydia, a district which is across the sea,
- as ru ru u qu sa sarri abi ya la a remote place, of which the kings my fathers had not
- is -mu u zik ri sum su ni bit saru ti ya heard speak of its name. The account of my grand
- -\|\| \times \| \times \| \delta \| \times \| \times

- an ni tu] niri şaru ti ya iz] ba tu im mu suttu that dream] the yoke of my kingdom he had taken]. The day he
- 92. -- | FF E | F | A W FFF & F | F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A F | A
- nakiri aq zu [sa la ip] la hu abi ya extreme rebels, who feared not my fathers
- va ya -a si la iş ba -tu niri şaru ti ya and me, and took not the yoke of my kingdom.

## COLUMN III, LINES 1 TO 4.

- 2. [-|\langle|\sigma \beta \rangle|\sigma \sigma \sigma \rangle|\sigma \beta \rangle|\sigma \
- u tam mi ih va [it ti ta mar] ti su he bound and [with] his numerous

ka - bit - ti u -se-bi - la a - di maḥ - ri ya

presents, he sent to my presence

K, 2675, Reverse, Lines 13 to 31.

ni - bir - ti ab - ba as - ru ru - u - qu sa across the sea, a remote place, of which

sarri a - li - kut maḥ - ri abi ya la
the kings going before me, my fathers, had not

is -mu - u zik - ri sum su ni - bit ṣaru - ti ya heard speak of its name. The account of my great kingdom

kap - ti ina suttu u - sap - ri su va Assur Ilu
in a dream was related to him by Assur, the God

ba - nu - u a um - ma sa Assur -bani - pal şar my creator, thus: "Of Assurbanipal king

Assur hi - suh - ti Assur sar Ili bel suh of Assyria, the beloved of Assur king of the Gods, lord

gim - ri niri ru - bu - ti su za-bat va şaru - şu of all; his princely yoke take, his majesty

pit - luḥ va zu - ul - la - a bi - lut şu sa e - pis reverence and submit to his dominion.

18. EYY EYY EYY EYY STUDIENT STUDIENT

ardu-u-ti va na -din man- da - at - ti lil - li - ku- us obeisance and giving tribute may thy words

su - up - pu ka im - mu suttu an - ni - tu come to him."

19. ↑ ★ - | ▲ ★ - - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ - | ★ -

e - mu - ru a - na sa - ha - al salim - mi ya dream, to pray for my friendship,

ra - gab- u su is - pu - ra a - di maḥ - ri ya
his messenger he sent to my presence.

20. ETH - II EME EN IV A - II - EN TO - II mata

Cinmerians, wasters of his country,

su ina kir-bi tam-ḥa- ri bal - ḍu - uṣ - ṣu ik - su-da in the midst of war, alive his hand

qati su it - ti ta -mar - ti su ka - bit -tu a - na had taken. With numerous presents, to

Ninua alu bi - lu - ti ya u - se - bil - av - va

Nineveh the city of my dominion, he sent and

sul

lah

- u na as siq sepi ya

  kissed my feet,

  22. | \* E| E| | E | |

  Mu gal li sar

  Mugallu king of
- (blank) If I A # W IF # W (I # # # C \ (\) (blank) (a sib har sa a ni sa di pa as qu u ti (blank) dwelling in the forests and rugged mountains,
- 23. Ell II From Ell From Ell From sa a na sarri abi ya kakki who against the kings my fathers had sent fighting men,
- sit pu ru e tap pa lu da za a ti ki rib and had increased depredations, within
- mati su hat ti im qut su va pu luh ti saru ti ya his country fear struck him, and the terror of my kingdom
- a na Ninua is pu rav va u zal la a to Nineveh he sent, and submitted to
- [Ma-da] at tu na -dan mat-ti su u kin zi ru us -su the tribute given by his country I fixed upon him.

beter

ra -pa- as - ti qabal tam- ti sa ki - ma nunu ina afar off, in the midst of the sea; who, like a fish in

me la ni - i - bi \* \* \* ha e - de - e dan - ni the boundless waters \* \* \* long(?) time(?) the

sit - ku-nu ru - tu sa eli (v. e - li) tam- ti place (?) was; who over the great

gal-la-ti i-lu-u va la kit-nu-su a-na ni-i-ri sea roamed, and was not submissive to the yoke

30. ~ III < ~ I = III = III = II | I ~ I = II = III = III | I ~ I = III = III | I ~ I = III = III | I ~ I = III | I = IIII | I

ik -nu - us va i -su - da ab -sa -a - ni hurazi bedience he submitted, and he executed my pleasure.

Gold,

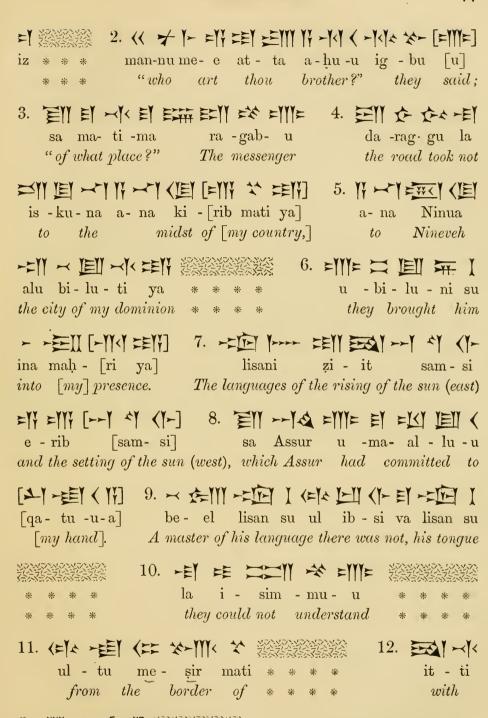
sarad şami sarad zalmi nuni izzuri mat-ti
green paint, black paint, fishes and birds, of the country

sam -ma u - kin e - li su the sum I fixed over him.

Fragment of Cylinder E, Lines 1 to 12.

1. If A - na me - a mati ya nisi mati ya

To the border of my country the men of my country



These texts differ in some important points; the earliest one, K, 2675, does not mention either the submission of Tyre, the tribute of Sandasarmi of Cilicia, or the revolt of Gyges and Psammitichus. Cylinder B, which was written during the war with Saulmugina, describes the submission of Tyre, but omits the Cilician tribute and revolt of Gyges and Psammitichus. All these events are narrated on Cylinder A, which was written later than either of the other texts. From these facts, and the statement that Miluhha (Ethiopia) revolted with Saulmugina (Cylinder A, col. iv, 1.35), I judge that the revolt of Gyges and Psammitichus took place at the time of the general rising against Assyria, in which Saul-mugina the king's brother was concerned. The fragment of Cylinder E is part of an account of the reception of the envoy of Gyges king of Lydia. (Pisamilki king of Egypt is the Psammitichus of the Greeks, hier. Psametik). One copy of Cylinder A writes this name | > EY W | Sami-il-ki; the first character here is so evidently a mistake that I have not inserted it as a variant. On Tablet K, 3402, the two Egyptian wars having been given as one, the war with Bahal of Tyre is called the second expedition, instead of the third.

### PART V.

The Conquest of Karbit.

#### TEXTS.

The texts of this expedition are Cylinder B, col. iii, lines 5 to 15; K, 2675, reverse, lines 6 to 12; and a fragment of Cylinder E, lines 1 to 10.

CYLINDER B, COLUMN III, LINES 5 TO 15.

- 7. [Y EYYY -- | EYY | Y | Y | EYYY | X | E
- abi ya [la kit-nu-su a-na] niri va nisi

  my fathers [had not been submissive to] the yoke, and the men
- aḥ] ta -nab- ba-- tu ḥu- bu-ut mati ya mut ba la carrying off the plunder of my country.

- 12. EMY -- I EM IN EXIT III III I III I
- ina qa ti az bat va] al qa a a na Assur in hand I took, and brought to Assyria;
- Mu-zur u sa az bit  $Egypt \ I \ caused \ to \ be \ taken.$

K, 2675, Reverse, Lines 6 to 12.

- na da ta su-bat su nisi a-sib lib su eli is situated, the people dwelling in it, to
- sadi su-nu mar zu u ti tak lu va la pit lu hu
  their rugged mountains trusted, and feared not the

bi-lut Assur Ta -an - da - ai niru su-nu power of Assyria. Tandia their chief, who

ni - i - ri hu - bu - ut mati ya mut - ba - la yoke, the plunder of my country

ka - ay - an ih - ta -nab- ba - tu u - sah - ri - bu

constantly they carried off, and wasted

abli Dur - il im - da - ḥa - ru - ni va u - ṣal - lu - u the sons of Duril besought me, and supplicated

bi - lu - (u) - ti su - ut - saki ya my power.

11. Fin El Y FIIF I--- FEII su - ut - saki ya My generals,

sanuti eli su-nu u -ma- hi - ir Kar-bat the prefects over them, I sent, and Karbat

alani sa - tu - nu ki - sit - ti qati ya

of those cities captured by my hand

i!

need

az - bit to be taken.

Fragment of Cylinder E, Lines 1 to 9.

- 1.  $[ \rightleftharpoons \bowtie ] ]$   $( \rightleftharpoons \bowtie ) \implies [ \rightleftharpoons \bowtie ] \implies [ \rightleftharpoons \rightleftharpoons ] \implies [ \rightleftharpoons \rightleftharpoons ] \implies [ \rightleftharpoons \bowtie ] \implies [ \rightleftharpoons \rightleftharpoons ] \implies [ \rightleftharpoons ] \implies [ \rightleftharpoons \rightleftharpoons ] \implies[ \rightleftharpoons ] [ \rightleftharpoons$
- 2. [

  | Simiri | Simi
- ka bit tu is lu lu u ni [ana ki] rib

  abundance they carried off to the midst of
- bal du şu ina qa ti [iz ba] tu ni ub lu -u ni alive in hand they took, and brought
- II ⟨III → EII → II ⟨I ← EII ⟩
   7. [EIII | → II | → II → III | →

u -sa - az - bit

I caused to be taken.

9. [\(\begin{aligned}
& \begin{aligned}
& \begin

kasti

$$\overrightarrow{x}$$
  $\overrightarrow{x}$   $\overrightarrow{x}$ 

The campaign against Karbit, or Karbat, is the least important of Assurbanipal's expeditions. We find again some copies claiming the expedition for the king; but there is no doubt, from the statements of K, 2675, and Cylinder E, that an Assyrian general commanded. As the captives were transported to Egypt, this campaign must have taken place before the revolt of Psammitichus. Karbat appears to have been situated in the mountains east of the Tigris, and between Assyria and Elam.

w

## PART VI.

The War with Minni.

#### TEXTS.

There are two principal texts to this expedition; Cylinder A, col. iii, lines 43 to 82, and Cylinder B, col. iii, line 16, to col. iv, line 14.

Cylinder A, Column III, Lines 43 to 82.

- 43. → ₩ ≡ | Y ≡ | X → | Y X | X ≡ | X X | X ≡ | Y X | X ≡ | Y X | X ≡ | Y X | X ≡ | Y X | X ≡ | Y X | X ≡ | Y X | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ | X ≡ |
- eli Aḥ -se-e-ri (v. ra) ṣar Man-na-ai against Akhseri king of Minni

- Ninua Ilu şar rat Kit-mu ri Istar sa
  Nineveh, the divine queen of Kitmuri, Ishtar of
- Arba- il Ninip Nergal Nusku ki rib

  Arbela, Ninip, Nergal, and Nusku; into

- Man- na ai e ru ub va at tal lak sal-dis

  Minni I entered and marched victoriously;

- ak su ud (v. aksud)

  I took;

  52. □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □

  ab bul ag gur ina isati

  I threw down, destroyed, and in the fire
- ak mu nisi susi imiri

  I burned. People, horses, asses,
- alpi zeni ul tu ki rib alani oxen, and sheep, from the midst of those
- Ah -se-e ri a-lak gar ri ya is -me-e va

  Aḥseri of the progress of my expedition heard; and

in - na - bit va e - ḥu - uz mar - ki - tu fled, and took refuge.

58. ≥|| -|<| \*\*>-|<| ≥|| -|≤| → ≥|| -|≤| → ≥|| -|≤| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥|| → ≥||

ma-gu-u su-a-tu ak -su-ud ma-lak 10 im-mi 5 im-mi That district I took; for fifteen days' journey

ad - bu - uk
Ah - se - e - ri la pa - lah (v. luh)

I conquered.

Ahseri not fearing

belu- ti ya ina a-mat Istar a- si-bat Arba- il by the will of Ishtar dwelling in Arbela,

mi - tu - tu Aḥ -se- e - ri ṣar Man-na - ai the destroyer of Ahseri, king of Minni."

64. (II = V - F \*= III = III \*= FIN - III - III = III \*= III = IIII = III = IIII = III = IIII = IIII = IIII = III = IIII = III = III

ENTERPLY EN ( 66. - FIN I FIN W ( IN FIN I LANGE AND ina tarzi alu su sa-lam - ta su against him made, and in front of his city his attendants threw

id - du - u in - da - as - sa - ru pa - gar su down and tore in pieces his corpse.

aḥi su kin-nu su ziri bit abi su u - sam - ki - tu

His brothers, his relatives, and the seed of the house of his father, they

ablu su u -sib ina (v. i-na) kuzzu su da - na - an his son sat on his throne; the power of

Assur Sin Samas Vul Bel Nabu Istar

Assur, Sin, Shamas, Vul, Bel, Nebo, Ishtar

sa Ninua Ilu ṣar - rat Kit -mu- ri Istar sa of Nineveh, the divine queen of Kitmuri, Ishtar of

Arba- il Ninip Nergal Nusku Ili rabati

Arbela, Ninip, Nergal, and Nusku, the great Gods

beli ya e - mur va ik - nu - sa a - na my lords, he saw, and submitted to

riri (v. ni - ri) ya as -su ba - laḍ napis - ti su my yoke.

74. 

To preserve his life

ub - na -a su ip - ta -a u -sal-la -a bel - u - ti Zal his hand (friendship) he offered, and besought my power.

- sepi ya

  my feet.

  77. -||\(\frac{\pi}{\pi}\) \Rightarrow \|\(\frac{\pi}{\pi}\) \Rightarrow \|\(\frac{\pi}{\
- W (Y=YYYY Y= 78. ≡YYY≡ ≡Y &--| ≒TT ≡ □ □ (v. ≡ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ u -ma- hi ir ziru (v. zi ru) us su for friendship I sent to him.
- bintu zi it lib bi su u se bi la a na

  The daughter proceeding from his body he sent for a
- e pis sal tuglu u ti ma da at ta su concubine.

  80. EY EYY EYY I ma da at ta su The former
- maḥ ri tu sa ina tir zi ṣarri abi ya tribute, which in the time of the kings my fathers
- 81. FINE FLU (IF III SIN II (IF III III) U sab di lu is su-u-ni a di maḥ ri they had broken off, he had brought to my presence.
- (v. ()-) = 82. ((( ) E ) = (-1) = (-1) = (-1) (-1) = (-1) = (-1) (-1) = (-1

CYLINDER B, COLUMN III, LINE 16, TO COLUMN IV, LINE 14.

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 \*
 \*
 \*
 \*
 \*
 Man]-na - ai
 submit(?)
 \*
 \*
 \*
 \*
 \*
 Minni

24.  $\exists YY \equiv \exists Y \quad \exists YY \quad \exists YY \quad [YXYY]$  25.  $\Rightarrow$  u - ma - he - e - ra [umman su] ina sent forth [his army]. In the

sat mu - si tan - ni - kil - ti a - na e - pis tahaz middle of the night, secretly to make war,

it - bu - [ni] a - na mit - hu - uz - zi ummani ya they came to fight my army.

- is - ku - nu abikta su - un ma - lak 3 kas - pu accomplished their overthrow. For a space of three kaspu

下到 冷 () 直 (東 ) [[ 大 [] 文 [] 文 [] 文 [] 文 [] 文 [] ekal rag-[mat su] - nu u - mal - lu - u zer rap -su of ground their slain filled the wide desert.

- 31. (E) = | | > | 4 > | 4 > | 1 > = E | | > = E | | > = E | | > = E | | > = E | | > = E | | > = E | | > = E | | > = E | | > = E | | > = E | | > = E | | > = E | | > = E | | > = E | | > = E | | > = E | | > = E | | > = E | | > = E | | > = E | | > = E | | > = E | | > = E | | > = E | | > = E | | > = E | | > = E | | > = E | | > = E | | > = E | | > = E | | > = E | | > = E | | > = E | | > = E | | > = E | | > = E | | > = E | | > = E | | > = E | | > = E | | > = E | | > = E | | > = E | | > = E | | > = E | | > = E | | > = E | | > = E | | > = E | | > = E | | > = E | | > = E | | > = E | | > = E | | > = E | | > = E | | > = E | | > = E | | > = E | | > = E | | > = E | | > = E | | > = E | | > = E | | > = E | > = E | > = E | > = E | > = E | > = E | > = E | > = E | > = E | > = E | > = E | > = E | > = E | > = E | > = E | > = E | > = E | > = E | > = E | > = E | > = E | > = E | > = E | > = E | > = E | > = E | > = E | > = E | > = E | > = E | > = E | > = E | > = E | > = E | > = E | > = E | > = E | > = E | > = E | > = E | > = E | > = E | > = E | > = E | > = E | > = E | > = E | > = E | > = E | > = E | > = E | > = E | > = E | > = E | > = E | > = E | > = E | > = E | > = E | > = E | > = E | > = E | > = E | > = E | > = E | > = E | > = E | > = E | > = E | > = E | > = E | > = E | > = E | > = E | > = E | > = E | > = E | > = E | > = E | > = ina ki - bit Assur Sin Samas Ili rabati By command of Assur, Sin, and Shamas, the great Gods
- sa u - tak - ki - lu in - ni beli ya whoprotectedmy lords,
- (国训计)(一个) 计计划运行 33. 运门门过 ki - rib Man - na - ai e - ru - ub va
  into Minni I entered and at - tal - lak marched
- sal-dis ina mi-ti-iq gar-ri ya Ai-u-si-as victoriously. In the progress of my expedition, Aiusias
- hal - zu Pa - sa - \* \* - su Bu - su - ut the fortress, Pasa \* \* su Pusut,
- 当年(年年 当时(周期分别 当時中日) As-di-as Ur-ki-ya-mu-un Up-pi-is Asdias. Urkiyamun, Uppis,
- Na - zi - ni - ri 8 Si - hu - u - a and Naziniri, eight Sihua,
- alani dan -nu - ti va a-di zi- ih -ru-ti strong cities, and smaller ones

- sa ni i ba la i su u a di ki rib

  which were without number, to the midst of
- I zir ti ak su ud ab bul ag gur ina isati

  Izirtu I captured, I threw down, destroyed, and in the fire
- ak mu nisi susi imiri

  I burned. People, horses, asses,
- alpi zeni ul tu ki rib alani oxen, and sheep, from the midst of those

- Ur mi ya te

  Ur miyate, and

  Urbia, his

dan - nu - ti su al - mi

nisi a - si - bu - ti fortified cities, I surrounded, the people dwelling in

冷川♥以降」★ 49. 川河扁目科グ屋川★ alani sa - a - tu - nu e - si - ir va nap - sat su - nu those cities I besieged, and their spirits

u - și - iq u - tir - ri na - gu -u su -a - tu I humbled, and caused to melt away. That district I

谷区、大口了、厅区、国际公园内 ak - su - ud ab - bul ag - gur ina isati ak - mu took, I threw down, destroyed, and in the fire I burned.

51. ET EVY < 47 Y- W 47 Y- = YYY= - >= YXY - YXY 1-11 EY ma-lak 10 im-mi 5 im-mi u - saḥ - ri - ib va For fifteen days journey I laid waste, and

sa - qu - um -ma-tu ad - bu - uq ina mi - ti - iq the highlands I conquered. In the progress of

gar - ri ya alani sa li - mi - it Pad - di - ri my expedition, the cities which were near Paddiri,

- sa ina tir - zi sarri abi the kings my fathers which in the time of
- Man - na - ai e - ki -mu a - na (i - di) the Mannians had taken, and to their own

EN 目 兩 【 → FIVE 於 YYY 55. → 白 EN 4 → ra - ma - ni su - nu u - tir - ru ak - su - ud ina (hands) had restored; I captured, in the

NE

W II - EI - II - II (EX-III) Sa-a- tu-nu a-na me- sir Assur u - tir - (ra) cities to the boundaries of Assyria I restored.

57. ► I CA ( EII - III ( FII EII FIE EII 58. EII na - gu - u sa Ar - și - ya - ni - is sa The district of Arsiyanis, which

bi - rit A - ya - qa - na - ni sa Ḥa - ar - ṣi bounded Azaqanani of Harsi,

W ⟨Y≠ ≠ 60. EYY ►YY≠ ↑ EY ★ III ► WIY EYY Sa-di-i sa ris Ku-mu-ur-da-ai sa the mountain which is at the top of Kumurda, in the

alani su aș - pu - un ina isati ak - mu its cities I destroyed, and in the fire I burned;

- as lu la sal lat su ina ti ib taḥazi ya

  I carried off its spoil.

  By the shock of my army,
- na gu su u saḥ rib u za aḥ ḥi ir that district I laid waste, I reduced the

- ak bu ṣa me ṣir Assur [Bi(?)] ru a and marched across the borders of Assyria. Birua(?),
- [Bi] ru u te alani li [mi it] and Birute(?), cities near
- Assur sa ina tir zi şarri abi ya Assyria, which in the time of the kings my fathers
- 75. ► Y (E) ★ ` ( → Y Y Y 76. ► Y ► YY E) ★

  e ki -mu Man- na ai da rum -mi sa -a tu -nu

  were captured by the Mannians, those districts
- ak su ud

  Man na ai ul tu lib bi as suh

  I took.

  The Mannians, from the midst I removed,

78. 

Susi

bat-li u -nu-tu tahazi

the horses

and their instruments of war

[sa]-a-tu-nu a-na es-su-ti az-bat u-tir-ra cities a second time I took, and restored

La pa laḥ bilu- ti ya [a-mat] Istar im -nu su not fearing my power, [the will] of Ishtar delivered

i - na qati ardi su nisi mati su și - hu him into the hands of his servants. The people of his country a revolt

eli su u - sab -su-u ina suqi alu su against him made, and in front of his city

Sea 86-10

sa - lam - ta su id - du - u pagar su arku
his attendants threw his corpse.

86. 

86. 

86. 

86. 

Afterwards

Y ≡ YY ≡ YY ≡ E X X S7. ≡ YY ≡ Y − ≡ E → Y Va - a - al - li - i ablu su u - sib i - na Vaalli his son sat on

kuzzu su da - na - an Assur Sin Samas Bel his throne. The power of Assur, Sin, Shamas, Bel,

Nabu Istar sa Ninua Istar sa Arba- il

Nebo, Ishtar of Nineveh, Ishtar of Arbela,

Ninip Nusku Nergal Ili rabati beli ya Ninip, Nasku, and Nergal, the great Gods my lords,

e - mur va ik - nu - sa a - na niri ya he saw; and submitted to my yoke.

- 93.  $\geq |||| \geq ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > || > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| > ||| >$

ablu ridu - ti su a - na Ninua is - pur - av - va his eldest son, to Nineveh he sent, and

EY 97. EXT IV LEIN ENV V (VEYVY I FINE EN  $\triangle --$ ) FITT va a - mir ya sa salim - mi u -ma - hi - ir and my messenger for an alliance I sent

99. EY EYY EYYY I - EX - YYY Y Y - X FYYY EYYY EYYY THE ma-da-at-ta su mah - ri - tu sa ina tir - zi

The former tribute, which in the time of

sarri abi ya u - sab - di - lu the kings my fathers, they had broken off:

is - su -u- ni a- di maḥ - ri ya 30 susi

he had brought to my presence. Thirty horses,

eli ma - da - (at) - ti su maḥ - ri - ti u - rad - di va beside the former tribute, I added and

niru sa Mad- ai a chief of Media,

## COLUMN IV.

1.  $\begin{picture}(20,0) \put(0,0){\line(1,0){13}} \put($ 

Ga - (a) - gi

Gog,

a chief of the Saka (Scythians) who had thrown off

riri belu- ti ya

the yoke of my dominion,

3. | ⟨W -=|| | → = || → → | ← || → → | ← || ← |

5. alani su-nu dan-nu- ti

8 seventy-fire of their strong cities

hi?

W.c.66

- bal du şu nu ina qati az bat u bi la ana alive, in hand I took, and brought to
- Ninua alu bel-u-ti ya

  Nineveh, the city of my dominion.

  6. | --- | E|| -|| < || ||

  Ilu da ri a

  Iludaria
- sanut (v. tur ta nu) Lu ub di sa

  prefect (v. tartan) of Lubdu, who
- a na ka sa ad Ub bu um mi va to Capture Ubbummi and
- il li ka ki rib mu si ti nisi

  and went in the night.

  9. \( \)\( \)\( \) \\

  1. \( \)
- a-si-bu-ti Kul-li-im-mi-ri ardi dwelling in Kullimmir, tributaries,
- da gil pa ni ya ina sat mu- si di ik ta su dependent on me; in the middle of the night his
- ma ha as su i du ku la ez zi bu
  numerous army slew, and there was not

The differences between the texts of Cylinders A and B regarding this expedition principally rise from Cylinder B giving a more minute account of the events, and supplying some points omitted on Cylinder A. It appears from Cylinder B that the principal battle with the Mannians was fought before Assurbanipal went in person to Minni. After the victory of his generals, Assurbanipal himself entered Minni, and ravaged the country. The details of the restoration of territory to Assyria, the conquest of the Median chief Birizhadri, and the sons of Gagi the Sakhian or Scythian, and the defeat and death of Iludari; are additions in Cylinder B. Gagi resembles the in of Ezekiel. The city of Lubdu, of which Iludaria was governor, revolted once before in the reign of Shalmaneser II, in B.C. 820.

## PART VII.

The War with Urtaki, King of Elam.

### TEXTS.

The texts of the war with Urtaki are Cylinder B, col. iv, lines 15 to 83, and a fragment of a proclamation of Assurbanipal, K, 1139.

CYLINDER B, COLUMN IV, LINES 15 TO 83.

15.  $\succ$  \|\text{\formula} \left\| \rightarrow \|\text{\formula} \

\$\langle \times \langle \langle \times \langle \langle \times \langle \langle \times \langle \langle \times \langle \langle \times \langle \langle \times \langle \times \langle \times \langle \times \langl

bani ya la ḥa - aṣ - ṣu la iẓ - ẓu - ru
my begetter disregarded, and had not heeded

ip - ru - ti ul -tu ina Elam su - un - qu the famine. When in Elam a drought

is -ku-nu ib - ba -su-u- ni ip - ri - tu miri took place, there was a famine. Corn

ba -lad napis - ti nisi u -se - bil su va az -bat to preserve the lives of the people, I sent him, and took

ha-os-sa

I had re

- qat şu nisi su sa la pa an şu un ki his hand. His people, who from the face of the drought
- 21. ETT ST SEI ( STEINS ( STEINS ) SEINS STEINS ( SEINS STEINS ) SEINS STEINS ( SEINS STEINS ) SEINS STEINS STEINS ( SEINS STEINS ) SEINS STEINS STEI
- 22. If (I = III + + III = III ( a di zu un nu nu ina mati su iz nu nu ib ba su u until the rain in his country rained, and there were
- ib lu du u -se bil su va

  were preserved, I sent to him, and

  24. Em <24. Elam ai sa

  the Elamite; who
- The control of the
- H( ► W M E F C Lat su Bel ba sa [Gam-bu-la ai]

  regard his good.

  Belbasa the [Gambulian,]
- [da gil pa ni ya]

  [dependent on me,]

  27. [Y -- Y \Rightarrow R] \Rightarrow Raruduk zikir]-ibni

  [Merodach zikir]ibni
- ummāti sa Ur ta ki [ṣar Elam]
  generals of Urtaki [king of Elam,]

28. [
Akkad * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *
id - ku - u - ni * * * * * Elam * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *
→□ ♀
* * * * * * ur - ri - ha ta - ha - zu a * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *
Image: Control of the control of th
35. (EYA E 36. EY Y EFFFE EXTY
√       37. ≥     ≥     ⇒     ⇒     ⇒             va * * * * * *       is - ta -nap-pa-ra * * * * * *         and * * * * * *       he sent * * * * *
38.
u -ma- hi - [ir as]-pur va I commanded, I sent, and  40.   40.   il - lik i - tu - [ur] va  he went. He returned, and

ha-an-a-ti ka-ai-ma-[nu va] u-sa-an-na-a this was confirmed, and

he repeated to

ya - [a - ti] um - ma E - la - mu - u kima "The Elamites like thus: me,

ti - bu - ut aribi - bu - ut aribi ka - tim a flight of locusts, so overspreading ka - tim Akkad Akkad

ka - ti - im(?) sa zi - ir Bab - ili cover(?), over against Babylon

us -man-nu sa - kin va na - di ma - dak - tu a - na he co cola the camp is fixed and fortifications are raised."

na - ra - ru - ti Bel va Nabu Il (v. bel) - i ya the aid of Bel and Nebo, my Gods (v. lords)

su ap - tal - la - hu Ilu- uș - șu - un zabi tahaz ya whom, I worshipped their divinity: my men of war

图(图形图题对色图处图) 十 48. 11 到 ad - ke - e va az - ba - ta mur - ra - nu I gathered, and I took the march. The progress of

新(-)((注)) 本) 上 計 + 注 計 - )(() ] 目 49. 注注 gar - ri ya is - mi va ḥat - tu is - ḥup su va i - tur my expedition he heard, and fear overwhelmed him, and he returned

| 2 | 文庫4 | 芝園 スポロスを作用「神」を主 ana mati su arku su az -bat a- bi - ik - ta su as - kun to his country. After him I took [the road], his overthrow I accomplished,

Raiva Setur arab (& 11m

> dinu Seval

To and is la

har

y ta

· 1 of a

- ad ru us su a di me sir mati su and drove him to the frontier of his country.
- ip ru ti ina im mi la sim ti su mu u [ti] the famine; in the day of his misfortune, death
- \* \* \* \* \* \* ina ta ni ḥi ik tu u i \* \* \* \* [desired(?)]

  In lamentation, he beat \* \* \*
- ina sanat an na su na pis ta su iq ti il \* \* \* \*

  In that year, his life he destroyed \* \* \*
- niru belu ti ya ina ni -sik kisti is ta kan the yoke of my dominion, hiding in concealment, he passed
- na pis -tu
  Nabu zikir esses
  tig en na la
  Nebozikiresses
  the tigenna, not
- na zir a de e is si a ga nu keeping the covenant, was overthrown by the

bil - la - ai ma - lu - u - ti (v. maluti)

lords strong and mighty.

be

- sa limut -tu u sak si -du a na Ur ta ki

  who, evil caused to happen to Urtaki:
- 63. ≡|| | → ≡| → ≡|| → | ⟨□ ← | ≡ → | | → | | → | | → | | ≡ → | | → | | → | | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → | □ → |
- su rab-tu ina he- ed sanat an na me- eh rit fear.

  For one year in presence of each
- a-ha-mis is -ku-nu na-pis-tu lib-bi Assur other, they passed their lives. The heart of Assur
- ag gu ul i -nu- uḥ su-nu- ti ul ip suḥ vengeful, let them not rest, and did not spare
- su-nu-ti ka -bat-ti Istar sa u tag-gil an-ni them.

  The mighty Goddess who protected me,
- 69. → I ► II ► III ← I ► III ← TO. ← ► III ← pal e saru ti su is ki pu bil lut the time of his kingdom ended, and the dominion

ihit

sah. Wrath

nam

- Te um -man tam-sil gal \(\varphi\) u sib ina kuzzu

  Teumman like an evil spirit, sat on the throne of
- Ur ta ki a na da a ki abli

  Urtaki; to slay the sons of
- Ur ta ki va abli Um -man- al da -a-se

  Urtaki, and the sons of Ummanaldas
- aḥu Ur ta ki is te ni ha a limut the brother of Urtaki, he devised evil.
- 77. 译 → 【归 连Ⅲ 【图 基端 \* 【□】 氰 【图 abli Ur ta ki ṣar Elam sons of Urtaki king of Elam,
- 79. Find IV III Find Solution 80. (I-III SSS) sar a-lik pa-ni Ur-ta-ki va 60 the king preceding Urtaki, and sixty of
- ziri şarri ina la mi ni zabi mitpanu abli the seed royal, innumerable bow-men and children
- ba-ne-e sa Elam sa la pa-an da-a-ki begotten in Elam; who from the face of the massacre

ent

Te - um -man aḥu abu su-nu of Teumman their uncle;

in -nab- tu-u-niv-va

fled, and took

当一当一直 (国) 直端 4/ 注

iz - ba - tu niru ṣaru - ti ya
the yoke of my kingdom. wyally

Extract from K, 2867, Variant Passage for Cylinder B, Column IV, Lines 30 to 70.

sar Elam sa la ag - ru - u su ig - ra an - ni king of Elam; who [when] I did not make war with him, made war

im - ha - zu pa - na - as - zu id - ru - du su a - di struck him in the face, and drove him to the

u - hal - li - qu nap - sat şu ip - ki - du su a - na destroyed his life, and they sent him to

mat-nu - de -a a - sar la \* \* \* \* lib - bi

Hades, the place none [return from]. The hearts of the

ha i feet

la a Ili rabati beli ya ul i - nu - uḥ ul great Gods my lords, did not rest, did not

ip - suh sa e - zu - zu ka -bat- ti belu- ti su \* \* \*

spare. The strong and mighty one, his dominion \* \* \*

Elam u -raq- qu sa - num - [ma]

of Elam passed to another.

## K, 1139.

- 1. If I STITE IN THE STITE IN WILLIAM 2. STITE A-mat saru a-na nisi Ra-sa-ai nisi The will of the king, to the men of Rasa, the sea
- tamti va Ne ru u ti salim-mi ya a si mu coast and the Neruti.

  My salutation
- lib ba ku nu lu u dabtu ku nu nam ma to your hearts, may benefits to you be counted.
- 6. If EXIVER -II -IE EXIVE ( -II FIF -IC WY 7. (EXE a ra am en dabti ya va bilu ti ya ul rejoiced, my good, and my dominion, they

u - ba - hu a - na gab-bi dabtu e - bu - us - u su - nu did not seek. For all the good done to them,

| Second |

immi sa Ur - tak ul - tu bu - bu - ti i - na days of Urtak; from the famine in

Elam ur - [du -u - ni] [il - li] -ku-u- ni

Elam they descended(?) and went

This war with Urtaki, commenced a series of contests with Elam, which extended through a large part of the reign of Assurbanipal. During the reign of Esarhaddon Ummanaldas I, king of Elam, died, and was succeeded by his brother Urtaki or Urtak, called on K, 1541, Y JEY FINT & Ur-ta-gu; who was on friendly terms with Esarhaddon. Some time after the accession of Assurbanipal and his brother Saulmugina, Assurbanipal befriended the Elamite monarch during a famine, and afterwards Urtaki disregarding this allowed his general Merodachzikiribni to persuade him into an invasion of Babylonia; where, after ravaging the country, he was repulsed by Assurbanipal. On his death within a year of this event Teumman, his brother (called on K, 1009, Y KY KY) ((, Tu-ummau), ascended the Elamite throne. Fearing Teumman would murder them, to secure the succession to the throne for his own sons; the two sons of Ummanaldas, and three sons of Urtaki, with a numerous body of adherents, fled to Assyria.

# PART VIII.

The War with Teumman King of Elam, and the Conquest of Gambuli.

#### TEXTS.

The texts relating to this expedition are Cylinder A, col. iii, lines 83, to col. iv, line 5; Cylinder B, col. iv, lines 84, to col. vi, line 92; an extract from K, 2652; and a series of epigraphs placed over the sculptured scenes representing this war.

CYLINDER A, COLUMN III, LINE 83, TO COLUMN IV, LINE 5.

us - te - es - se - ra

I directed the

84. ♣ ► II 

mur - ra - nu ina ki - bit Assur

march. By the command of Assur,

Ninua II sar - rat kit - mu - ri Istar sa

Nineveh, the divine queen of Kitmuri, Isthur of

Arba- il Ninip Nergal Nusku ina araḥ
Arbela, Ninip, Nergal and Nusku; in the month

Ululu arah sar Ili Assur

Elul, the month of the king of the Gods, Assur, but of h.3

abu Ili rubu nan - nur ki - ma ti - ib the father of the Gods, the glorious prince: like the shock of a

下夕引引引》 89. 中(三) 2(二) 1(三) 11 一 mi-he-e iz-zi ak-tum Elam a - na I overwhelmed Elam, through terrible storm,

当际区之《《《图》中区《图》 "以下区"(图》 și - ḥir - ti sa ak - kiş qaqadu Te - um - man I cut off the head of Teumman, its extent.

是第一十二十二十四 91. 图 十个个 图 (F) 12 ·图 ṣar su-nu mul - tar - ḥu sa ik - bu - da limut - tu other wicked king; who devised evil.

ler

ina la mi-ni a-duk qu-ra-di su bal-du-şun Beyond number I slew his soldiers; alive

ina qa - ti u - za- bit mun - taḥ - ze - e su nin - a - ti Their in hand, I captured his fighting men.

bel-a-

【 ★ 〈国 引 引 〈国 〈|-国 引 計|| ->||| su - nu ki - ma mitpani va iz - u - kir wives, like bows and arrows(?),

u -ma- al - la - a ta - mir (v. mar) - ti Su-sa- an Shushan. View? structed? filled the vicinity of

pagari su - nu U - la - ai u - sar - di 4,128,1 Their corpses the Ulai, I caused to take,

96. 肾>>> 甲亞 劉 [法 (国] 引 六 字 豆蕊 케 me sa az - ru - [ub - ki] -ma na - ba - aș - și 💋 kl its waters I made to consume like chaff(?).

te

- 99. ETT STENING IN -BY -EY -EY (EY) SEY 100. EXY -Y (in -nab- ta iz ba tu niri ya it ti fled, and had taken my yoke; with
- ya u bil su a na Elam u -se sib me I brought him to Elam. I seated
- ahu su sal-sa-ai sa it ti su in -nab- ta ina his third brother, who with him fled; in
- Hi da lu as kun su a na șar u ti

  Hidalu I appointed to the kingdom.
- 104.  $\langle \mathbf{x} | \mathbf{x} \rightarrow \mathbf{x} | \mathbf{x} |$
- Elam u sam ri ru as tak ka nu Elam I caused to march; I acquired of the state of the
- da na nu va li i tu ina ta ay ar ti ya power and glory. On my return

eli Du - na - nu Gam-bu - li - ai sa a - na against Dunanu the Gambulian, who to

Elam it - tag - lu as - ku - na pa - ni ya trusted; I set my fuce.

Sa-pi - i - bel alu tugul- ti Gam- bu - li Sapibel, the fortified city of Gambuli,

ak - su - ud ki - rib alu su - a - tu e - ru - ub

I took; into that city I entered,

nisi su az - lis u - qu - uh Du - na - nu its people entirely I carried off. Dunanu and

Nangunu,
112.
Nangunu

e - pis şaru - ti ya ina zi - iz - zi is -qa - ti work of my kingdom, in strong fetters of

parzil bi - ri - ti parzil u -tam - mi - ha qati va iron, and bonds of iron, I bound their hands and

sepi și - it - ti abli Bel-ba - sa kin-nu su feet. The rest of the sons of Belbasa, his kin, the

ziri bit abu su ma- la ba-su- u

Nabu -nahid

seed of his father's house, all there were,

Nabonidus and

أمر

as

Bel - edir abli Nabu - zikir - esses

Beledir, sons of Nebozikiresses

tig - en - na va nir - pad - du (v. da) - i
the tigenna, and the attendants of the

abi ba - ni su- nu father their begetter;

## COLUMN IV.

2. EVII I STATE A STAT

imiri susi pare ul-tu asses, horses, and mules; from

Sa- pi - i - bel alu tugul- ti su [ab - bul] ag - gur Sapibel, his fortified city, [I pulled down], destroyed,

ina me us - ham - mid and into the waters I turned.

-6i ?

CYLINDER A, COLUMN X, LINES 22 TO 30.

abi su a - na abi ya is - ta -nap-pa - ru - u
his fathers to my fathers had sent concerning the

(v. ) () THE STITE ( ) 24. FIV FEI FIVE FIVE (v. par-u) - ni aḥu - u - ut e - nin - na Ṣa - duri brotherhood.

Again, Saduri,

da - na - a - nu ip - se - e - tu sa Ili rabati
the mighty things for which the great Gods

i - si - mu in - ni is -me- e va ki -ma sa ablu had caused renown to me, heard, and like a son to

a - na abi su is - ta - nap - pa - ra (v. ru) bel - u - ut his father, he sent concerning the dominion;

27. (Y-) I FIYE (I F Y- F --) (I F va su - u ki - i pi - i an - nim - ma and he by word of mouth to me his bery

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Cylinder B, Column IV, Lines 84, to Column VI, Line 92.

87. ₹ 1 Ur - ta - ki şar Elam sons of Urtaki, king of Elam,

88. | II II | Y | FIII | FIIII | FIII | FIII

89. | SIN |

Elam nisi zirati su is - ta -nap-pa - ra

Elam; his great men sent,

学文を予問 a - na. se - bu - li for the surrender of

92. ≥YYY Y->-> ♥ YY ->EY → ♥ nisi sa - a - tu - nu sa whothese men.

in -nab- tu - niv -va had fled and

93. 計学經經濟學 iz - ba - tu niri ya se - bul taken my yoke. Their surrender

su-nu ul ag - bi su ana eli mi - mut - e - ti ina ri - h I did not grant him. Concerning the demands, by the 4.134,

gati Um - ba - da - ra -a va Nabu - damiq hand of Umbadara and Nebodamiq

is - ta -nap-pa - ra arah - u he sent  $\alpha$  month,

COLUMN V.

1. (回宝 (口四) 到,里子至 Ki - rib Elam us - tar - ra - ah ina puhur streuther In the midst of Elam he set himself to work in gathering himself a

whole of

umman su ad-gil a - na Istar sa u - tag-gil an - ni I trusted to Ishtar, who protects me. his army.

ki - bit pi - i su ṣa - ḥu - u ul am -gar ul a - din su gwz The demand of his vile mouth I did not accede to, I did not give him

4. 冷区时代型1/2011 《注图1/1/24 mun-nab- ti sa-a- tu -nu Te- um -man li - mut -tu those fugitives. Teumman devised

1 the

- 5. 三 必 并 4-1 17 --1 (《 三 》 为 并 4-1 1 is -te - ni - ha -a Sin is -te - ni - ha su devised against him evil: Sin
- \* \* \* \* limutti ina arah Dūza atalu lat-tur- ri ni/ h wr omens of evil; in the month Tammuz, the darkness of the morning

二个7、到底三年分类目子7个一目(国目 us - ta - ni - ih va sam - si zit va ki - ma su - ma \* \* \* \* he caused to retard the rising sun; and like watch

国际商民 8. 黑点等 数层黑 神 多洲 15 17 su-a-tu va 3 immi us-ta-ni-ih a-na this also three days he caused to retard; to the

ki - it pali [sar] Elam uhalliq "the [king] of Elam shall be destroyed, end (?)that (?)

**☆ I** 10. 溪 an - ni puluk uzzi su sa mata su \* \*" this she selected(?) in her power, which his country

是新年十( 11. - 4 1- 1 1 ( は 4 → 11 ) la in - ni - nu - u ina im - mi su va me - eh - ru Inthose days, before changed not.

公川公羊里目 12. 片浦 岩川 五四 八日 五日日 saput șu uq -ta - qum va -tam-te sed im - har su va she received him, her lips cursed, and

(Y-W ] =Y 会集 EY 13. =YYY2 → 产Y 企集 竺Y Ψ Ϣ eni su iș - ḥar va ga - ba - zu is - sa - kin ina her eyes flamed, and vengeance was fixed in her ומט

it - ti ip - se - e - ti an - na - a - ti lib - bi sa About these things, which heart.

sa Assur va Istar Assur and Ishtar

e - pu -su- us ul i - ba - as of -6/2 did to him, he knew not;

国一世界中国 16. - 学 国工学 id - ka - a umman su ina arah Abu arah he gathered his army. In the month Ab, the month

了了如此人员 17. 年《年间四里》

na - an - har - ti kakab Bam i -sin- ni sar - ra - ti nahidi of the luminous Sagittarius, in the festival of the the enall the Mos

片口川川~(连个片)|| 18. || → (v. 片)|(v) ka - bit - ti bintu Bel mighty queen, the daughter of Bel;

a - na pa-laḥ (v. luḥ) to worship

♥引-水连-河-西 19. - 六川 ☆ --/六川 六国三 sa rab - ti as - ba - ak ina Arba- il alu na - ram her greatly I sacrificed(?) in Arbela, the city the delight of in Arbela, the city the delight of

uplift

們員♥ 20. 集 1 水谷、竹蒜(□目門♥・川里 lib - bi sa as -su ti - bu -ut Elam - e sa ba - lu her heart. Of the invasion of the Elamite, who against

→ Y→ ₩ 21. [=YY] → Y < \$\frac{\finte}{\frac{\frac{\frac{\frac{\frac{\frac{\frac{\frac{\frac{\frac}{\frac{\frac{\frac{\frac{\frac}{\frac{\frac{\frac{\frac{\frac}\frac{\frac{\frac{\frac{\frac{\frac{\frac{\frac}\frac{\frac}{\frac{\frac{\frac{\frac{\frac{\frac{\frac{\frac{\frac{\fracc}\fint}{\fint}}}}}}}}}{\frac}\frac{\frac{\frac{\frac{\frac{\frac{\frac{\frac}\frac{\frac{\frac{\frac{\frac{\frac{\frac{\frac{\frac{\frac{\frac{\frac{\ it - ba - a [u - sa] - an - nu - u - ni Ili they repeated the Gods came:

动口引令 22. 片川 目 | 岁 片川 《 (国 ) 云 um -ma Te-um -man ki -a-am de - e - mu "Teumman even thus: word

sa Istar u - sa - an - nu - u me - lik ig - bi of Ishtar," they repeated the tenor saith

de - mi su · um - ma ul u - vas - sar a - di thus: "I will not cease until of his words,

nur

d.

te?

al - la - ku
I go

mit-hu-zu-ti su-par me-ri-ih - ti an-ni-ti over this threat,

Is - tar a (v. az) - i - ma a - na tar - i sa Ishtar. I approached to her presence,

ak -mi-iş sa - pal sa
Ilu - uş - şa u - sa - ap - pa - a
I bowed under her, I supplicated,

il - la - ka salim - ma ai um - ma bi - lat lat and she came to save me.

30. \( \sigma\) \( \sigma\)

Arba - il a - na - ku Assur - bani - pal şar Assur

Arbela, I am Assurbanipal king of Assyria,

31. \(\sim \sqrt{\sq}}}}}}}}}}}}}} \sqrt{\sqrt{\sintitex{\sintitita\sentintex{\sq}\sign{\sqrt{\sintitilex{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\s

 al - li - ka a - na pa - luḥ \* \* \* \* \* va

I go to worship \* \* \* \* \* and

bi- le - e - ti i -mat qab - li bi - lat ta - ḥa - zi of Goddesses, terrible in battle, Goddess of war,

ma- li - kat Ili \* \* \* \* sa ina ma - ḥar Assur queen of the Gods \* \* \* \* who in the presence of Assur

abi ba - ni ki damqatim tag - bi - i ina na \* \* \*

the father thy begetter, speakest good in \* \* \*

Assur va nu - uh - hi ka -bat- ti Maruduk \* \* ru - ur - ru

Assur, and rejoice greatly Merodach \* \* \* \*

40. EYYYY --YA [ FIFT --Y Y---] 41. EY ---Y AFF (E) sa a-na Assur [sar Ili] abi ba-ni ki who to Assur [king of the Gods,] the father thy begetter

ih - tu - u \* \* \* \* \* va a - na Maruduk \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* and to Merodach

ahu ta - li - mi ki Ilu - tu su nam \* \* \* \* \* thy good brother, his divinity \* \* \* \* \* \*

va ya - a - si Assur - bani-pal sa a - na nu - uh and of me Assurbanipal, who to rejoice the

lib - bi Assur va \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* he gathered,

wman (v. um -man) su ik - zu - ra ta - ha - zu his army, and prepared for war,

Assur um -ma at - ti qa - sit - ti Ili

Assyria. Oh thou archer of the Gods,

bu - ud - di - ri su và di - kis -su mi - hu - u

throw him down, and crush him; tear(?)

id

ones

. for

m

li-ri

- 46. A-II (I- + ETTT & FEIV FI + -I(I (() -I( --I (W) im si -nu in hi ya su-nu-hu (u) ti Istar

  \* \* \* \* \* My acceptable prayer Ishtar
- (v. ≡|| → ) ≡|| |- (=|||) ≡| 47. -≡| ≡||| → || =|||| || || || (v. Is tar) is -me (e) va la ta pal luḥ heard, and "fear not,"
- (v. 'Y) | (v. lah) ig ba a u sar hi za an ni lib bu she said, she caused my heart to rejoice;
- im la -a di im tu ar ta si remu shall be satisfied with the judgment.

  I will grant favour."
- (v. -||\langle| \times| \times| \times \times \langle| \times \times| \times \times \langle| \times \times| \times| \times \times| \t

- va tap sit mu si Istar u sap ru u su and during the night Ishtar spoke to him, and he
- 52. FINE W -- I -- I II EN II -- I W II (I- -- u -sa-an na a ya-a-ti um -ma Istar a-si-bat repeated it to me. Thus: "Ishtar dwelling in

sal?

- 六川 \$ → 53. > Y Y (V. → Y) 云 티 (W) ( Arba - il · · · e - ru - ub · (v. ba) - av - va imnu va entered, and right and Arbela,
- ||(((( ) を (v. (同) ) を || を || 本 || 人( sumili tu - ul (v. tul) - la - a - ta - is - pa - a - ti left she was surrounded with glory (?),
- 54. 付 \( 注 | 計 ( \( \) | 注 \( \) \( \) | 注 ( \( \) \( \) | 55. ◆ ( \( \) \( tam-ḥa- at mitpanu i - na (v. ina) i - di sa zal-pat holding a bow in her hand, projecting
- muz -za - ru kap - tu sa e - pis ta - ḥa - zi (v. taḥaz) a powerful arrow(?) on making war,
- 56. 到 各集 ♥ 连川 (三班) 川谷 月 (1- 時 (里 月 河畔 ma- ḥar sa ta - (az) - zi -iz si - i ki -ma umma her countenance was set. She like a mother
- 57. 【《二十八年》 图 1 图 1 1 图 1 1 1 1 58. [2] [7] a-lit-ti i-tam-ma-a it-ti ka il - si bearing, was in pain with thee, she brought
- ka Istar sa - qu -ut (v. qut) Ili i - sak - kan thee forth. Ishtar exalted of the Gods, appointeth
- um -ma ta - na - da - la a- na ka de - e -mu Thus: 'Carry off to thee a decree.
- 引 歌 華 ( 60. N 连 + / ( 国 引 + \* e - pis sa - as - si a - sar pa - nu ki sak - nu the place before thee set, make spoil,
- I will come to.'
- 为之间以之间 61. 以所见 5M 5M 5M 6M 6 1/6 te - ba - ku a - na - ku at - ta ta - gab - bi si Thou shalt say to her,

片川月八星口-川八月(日 62. 豆丁八(日 里上口 um -ma a - sar tal - la - ki it - ti ki lul - lik thus: 'The place thou goest to with thee I will go.' The

×〈厂 赵 >>> 63. 〈 Y> 注 > 起 ♥ >> Y → 密 → 比 於 Y Y N N bi - lat bileti si - i tu - sa - an - nak - ka um - ma Goddess of Goddesses repeateth to thee shethus:

at - ta a-gan - na • lu - (u) as - ba - ta a - sar 'Thee I will guard, then I will rest in the place of the

mas-gan - i Nabu temple of Nebo,

子訓辞子华 65. Y-今Y-江 国 (Y- N) a - kul a - ka - lu si - ti eat food, -drink

国纽州十 66. 全日全人4月十分一川十分一一国 ku-ru-un-nu nin-gu-ut su- kun nu- hi - id music appoint, glorify my wine,

Ilu- (u) - ti divinity,

a - di al - la - ku sip - ru untilI go, and this

su - a - tu ip - pu - su u - sak - sa - du message shall be accomplished. I will cause thee to

zu - (um) -mi- rat lib - bi ka take the desire of thy heart,

pa-nu-u ka ul before thee he shall not

DI 全体标酬 到 图 使 对 70. 例 ur - rak ul i - nir - ru - da sepi ka ul stand, he shall not oppose thy feet Do not

ta - u -sat zu -par ka ina qabal tam-ha- ri ina regard(?) thy skin. In the midst of battle, in

- ki rim me sa dabti tah zi in ka va her beneficent generosity, she guards thee, and
- isatu in na pi iḥ (iz zi is) a na a fire is b lown (strongly); to
- ka sa ad nakiri [ka] \* \* \* \* zi a na capture [thy] enemies \* \* \* \* to
- Elam sa ug gu ga at pa-nu us -sa

  Elam who was hateful before her, she
- tas kun ina araḥ Elulu i -sin ni appointed. In the month Elul, the festival of
- Assur the Great, 78. Sin na an nir same va
- irziti ad-gilana (v.a-na) uzzi

  earth, I trusted to the power of

  Hur
- nam ri va si par Istar bilat ya sa la the bright, and the message of Ishtar my Goddess who is

- in nin (v. ni) nu-u ad ke zabi taḥaz ya unchanged.

  80. EN (EN N) Nu-wei in Nin (v. ni) nu-u ad ke zabi taḥaz ya unchanged.

  I gathered my men of war,
- 一覧 試験 注例 注例 '- (国 = ) | -- | ((( く -- ) ( w mun taḥ zi sa ina ki bit Assur Sin va Istar the fighting men who by command of Assur, Sin and Ishtar;
- 82. FIV EN Y FIN Y FIN Y ENT Y (IN III) Y e - li Te - um -man şar Elam ur - hu

  Against Teumman king of Elam, the road
- az bat va [us te es se] ra mur ra nu I took, and directed the march.
- el la mu u a Te um man sar Elam

  In front of me, Teumman king of Elam
- 84. 

  \* \* \* \* [na] di man-dak-tu e rib saru ti ya

  \* \* \* \* \* camp was placed. Of my royal entry,
- 85. \(\varphi\) \(

```
To
                                                                   his life
                                  save
                                                                                                                                    * * * * to the
FYW /→→→ サ I 89. ※※※※※ た日 年 ()井 年 I
          nisi mati su
                                                                             * * * * * ka i - di - i su
people of his country * * * * *
                                                                                                                                his hand(?),
pa-nu-us -su u - tir (v.te) - rav -va
             before him returned,
                                                                                                                                 and
[is] - pur a - na mah - ri ya
                                                                                                                                        [U - la] - ai
  [he] sent to my presence.
                                                                                                                                         The Ulai
a - na dan - nu - ti su is - kun
                                                                                                                                        * * * * pa - an
  for himself he fortified
                                                                                                                                          * * * * before
 十 (国 = 1 93. ※※※※ -- 1 (二 4 -- 1 1 -- 1 1 --- 1 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 --- 
mas - ke - e
                                                           * * * * * Maruduk Ili rabati
                                                           * * * * * Merodach, the great Gods
my camp
sa u - tag - gil - u in - ni
        beli ya
        my lords;
                                                                               protected
                                                         who
                                                                                                                                              . me:
                                                                                                                                                                                            in
(1-= 111 1 ) -- - 14 (= -= 11 \ \ (1- 4) -= 14 4 = 11
                                                         suttu ka - sa si - par mah - he - e
   * * *
  omens of a dream, had given(?) a grand message.
96. (国 判 注 (国 ) 是 日 ( ) ( ) 上 日 日 ( ) ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) [ ] ( ) ( ) [ ] ( ) ( ) [ ] ( ) 
                   ki - rib
                                                                   Tul - li - iz abikta su as - kun
                           In Tulliz his overthrow I accomplished;
```

ina pagari su-nu U - la - ai aș - ki - ir

Ulai I choked up

with their corpses, the

- ina puḥri umman [su ak kiṣ] me lam mi Assur va before the assembly of [his] army [I cut off]. Terror of Assur and May
- Istar Elam iş ḥu up va ik nu-su su lshtar, Elam overwhelmed, and they submitted
- in nab- ta

  fled, and

  iz ba ta niri ya ina kuzzu

  took my yoke, on his throne

### COLUMN VI.

- Hi da lu a na ṣar u ti as kun

  Hidalu to the kingdom, I appointed.
- pare zi -bat- ti ni i ri bat- le and mules, trained to the yoke, instruments
- si -mat tahaz sa ina tugul- ti Assur (va) Istar fashioned for war; which in the service of Assur and Ishtar,
- Ili rabati beli ya bi-rit Su-sa-an the great Gods my lords, near Shushan
- U la ai ik su da qati ai ina ki bit and the Ulai, my hands captured; by command of
- Assur va Ili rabati beli ya ul tu

  Assur and the great Gods my lords, from

- gi mir umman ya sa sal tu sak na at all my army, for spoil they were given.
- 10. ₩ = Y = EYY Y = EYY ← EYY ← EYY ← EYY ← EYY FE

  Ina samne gar ri ya eli Du na nu ablu

  In my seventh expedition, against Dunanu son of
- Bel ba sa a na Gam-bu li lu u al lik

  Belbasa, to Gambuli I went;
- 12. WIY TEME TO CITY (II) SAI SAI THE SAI A SAI THE SA
- dan-nu Gam-bu- li a- na și ḥir ti su ki -ma attack Gambuli through its extent, like a
- alu dan-nu-ti-su sa ki-rib me na-da-at its strong city; which in the midst of the waters was
- (E|A→E| (E|E||Y → II I I Y Y 19. → IV E| F| E| IV UI → III E| III E|

sal sik - ri - ti su nis labi sal labi his concubines, male musicians and female musicians,

u - se-za - av - va sal - la-tis am - nu kasap ḥuraz I brought out, and as spoil I counted. Silver, gold,

sa - su na - gan - ti e - kal su u - se - za - av - va furniture, and musical instruments of his palace, I brought out, and

sal - la -tis am - nu \* \* \* \* man-za - az pa - ni su as spoil I counted. \* \* \* \* standing before him

27. 

\* \* \* \* \* [sal]- la -tis am -nu

\* \* \* \* \* as spoil I counted.

\* Maṣ-ṣi \* \* \* \* \*

\* Maṣi the officer(?)

29. WY SINY ( EXT C SIN 30. WY sa Te-um-man [sar Elam] sa of Teumman [king of Elam]; who

- Sa pi i] bel bal du uṣ ṣu ina [qati [Sapi]bel: alive in [hand] I
- az] -bat it ti pa-ni Du-na-nu \* \* \* \* \* \* \* took, with the officers of Dunanu \* \* \* \* \*

- ap ru şa zir us -su ina tu gul ti Assur Bel I cut off from over it. In the service of Assur, Bel
- Nabu Ili rabati nakiri ya a-ni-ḥa and Nebo the great Gods; my enemies I rested from:
- 40. From IV FEVENIVIV FINANCE AND ALL STATES A sal-mis a tu ra a na Ninua qaqadu peacefully, I returned to Nineveh. The head of
- Te- um -man sar Elam ina kibi Du na nu Teumman king of Elam, round the neck of Dunanu
- a lul it ti ki sit ti Elam

  With the conquests of Elam,

- ki bit Assur ik su du (v. da) qati ai it ti command of Assur, my hands had taken; with
- nis labi e pis nin gu ti a na Ninua musicians making music, into Nineveh,
- e ru ub ina hidati

  I entered with rejoicings.

  48. | \( \) \(
- Nabu damiq nisi zirati sa Te um -man Nebodamiq, great men of Teumman

- pa-an si-kin de (e) mi ya ni-kiş qaqadu until the fixing of my sentence: the decapitated head of

- e-mu-ru va sa-ne-e de -e-mi iz-bat şu -nu-ti they saw, and another opinion took hold of them.
- Um ba da ra a ip qu ma ziq na a su cut off of Umbadara tore his beard,
- 56. Y → Y ★ (Y → Y → Y ) → → → Y Y → → Y Y → ↓ X → Y → ↓ Y
- ka ra (v. kar) as su ni kis qaqadu through his [own] body. The decapitated head of
- Te- um -man ina ṣati babi rabi qabal sa Ninua

  Teumman, in front of the great gate situated in Nineveh;
- u maḥ ḥi ra maḥ ḥu ris as -su da na an

  I raised on high. By the power of
- Assur va Istar beli ya nisi kul lu mi

  Assur and Ishtar my lords, the people reviled (?)
- 60. THE CONTROL OF THE STATE OF
- Maruduk -bal-iddina sa la pa-an abu abi ba ni ya Merodachbaladan, of whom from the face of the grandfather my begetter;

- 63. EN LETT EN LENT CONTROL 64. (EN LENT abu su in -nab- tu a na Elam ul tu his father had fled to Elam; from

- maḥ ri ya
  my presence.

  67. | \( \infty \) \( \tau \)
- abi su un a na şarri abi ya their father against the kings my fathers,
- 70.  $\Rightarrow |||| \Rightarrow -||| \Rightarrow ||| \Rightarrow || \Rightarrow ||| \Rightarrow || \Rightarrow ||| \Rightarrow || \Rightarrow ||| \Rightarrow || \Rightarrow ||| \Rightarrow || \Rightarrow ||| \Rightarrow || \Rightarrow |$
- 71.  $\geq |Y| \geq |Y| \geq |Y| \geq |Y| \geq |Y| \leq |Y| \leq$
- Assur va Arba il a na kullu

  Assur and Arbela to execute

- ah ra a ti u bil su-nu ti sa

  my judgment I brought them.

  74. EII

  sa

  Of
- Nabu u zal li nisi sa eli Gam-bu li

  Nebouzalli, men who were over Gambuli;
- 76. EII ← III → I
- 77. 〈国 片川 广川 芹 广 广 I 片州 崖 国 片 ki - rib Arba- il lisan su- un as - lu - up in Arbela, their tongues I pulled out,

- Value
  Ya
  Pal ai a ni ir siri

  Dunanu
  and Paliya, I threw down; his limbs
- I ≡ III ≡ → □ III ← Sign | 83. ≡ III ≡ Sign = III ≡ IIII ≡ III ≡

Nabu -zikir- esses tig - en - na sa abu

Nabuzikiresses tigenna: whose father

ba - nu su - un Ur - ta - ki id - ka - a a - na their begetter, Urtaki brought to

- Nabu zikir esses sa ul tu ki rib

  of Nebozikiresses, whom from the midst of
- Gam-bu-li il qu u ni a na Gambuli, I carried to
- Assur ner pad du i sa a ti na those attendants, in

### EXTRACT FROM K, 2652.

Ina arah Tasritu immi istin in - nin - du va eli

In the month Tisri, the first day, it was placed; and against

b. Description of the surface of the

alu ṣar - u - ti su a - na Ninua alu na - ram

his royal city, to Nineveh the city the delight

Is -tar - a -tu sa is \* \* \* \* \* \* ina im - mi su Ishtaroth; who \* \* \* \* \* In those days,

 Fragment of Tablet K, 2674, containing Eight Epigraphs for placing over the Sculptured Scenes on a Palace Wall.

- 2. EV SAV -V | FIVY ( FE FE | VIII ( EV) (

saru - ti ya as - pu - ru a - na ka - sad Elam my kingdom: I sent to conquer Elam.

4. | F| AH X- Y FIN EN FIN X (I) Si - im - bu - ru niru sa Elam
Simburu a chief of Elam,

EY YYY SEYY SY S. - YY EYYY ma - lak ummani ya is - mi va zi - kar of the progress of my army heard; and at the fame of

sum ya ip - luḥ va ina mahri a - mir ya
my name he feared, and in the presence of my envoy

il - lik - av - va u - na - siq niri ya he came, and kissed my feet.

- Um ba ki -din- ni niru sa Hi- da li

  Umbakidinni a chief of Hidalu;
- Hi da li na -su-ni Zi ne e ni

  Hidalu, was bringing.

  Zineni

- iṣ-ḥup su-nu- ti qaqadi rubi sa Elam overwhelmed them.

  The heads of the princes of Elam,
- la kan-su- ti ya ik ki şu niv va id du u not submissive to me, they cut off and laid
- ()- ETH EY-Y--- FEYY EY-Y-Y (FEYY FIX-Y) (FEYY FIX-Y) ina mahri nisi rabati ya iz-ba-tu niru şaru-ti ya in presence of my great men. They took the yoke of my kingdom.

## is - di - ru is - ku - nu abikta Elam arrayed. They accomplished the overthrow of Elam.

## 

e - mur va a - na su - zu - ub napis - ti su saw; and to save his life,

in - na - bit va i - ba - qa - am ziq - na - a su he fled, and tore his beard.

tap - de - e ip - par - si - du ku - tig - ud - du su fear had fled, his line of battle (?)

is - ru - du a - na abi ba - ni su had arranged. To the father his begetter

19. Y STYY (( (( C) ST (E) (E) ST) - TETY

Te - um -man sar Elam sa ina taḥaz ya

Teumman king of Elam; who in my fierce

□ dan - ni muḥ - ḥa - zu a - na su - zu - ub napis - ti attack was wounded: to save his life

- in na bit va ih lu ub ki rib kis ti

  fled, and passed through the woods.

is - se - bir va ip - pal \* \* \* \*

was broken and fell \* \* \* \*

Epigraph over Two Figures; one, Teumman Wounded by an Arrow, the other, his Son Tamritu Drawing a Bow.

- ablu su ig bu u su le e mitpanu his son had said: "draw the bow."

Epigraph over Two Figures (Teumman and his Son) being Executed.

- 2. 〈一注 一八八 今華 【 Y 一八八 本 八 本 八 本 【 美一 〈 muḥ ḥu ẓu Tam ri i tu ablu su rabu u was wounded; Tamritu his eldest son,
- 3. Em = II = I = E E I I = E = II = E = II = I

- 6. FIJ FIJ I FIJ I

Epigraph over Figures seated in a Charlot holding a Man's Head in Hand.

- 1. FIFE AND IN SAIN [(\lambda \infty \infty
- 2. EVY EXXXXY AV VYX [-YXX XEV -EVY]
  sa ina qabal tam ḥa [ri ik ki ṣu]
  which in the midst of battle [they cut off,]

Epigraph over Wounded Figure on the Ground Surrendering Himself.

1. Y III EYYY EYYY X X X X X Y Ur - [ta] - ku ha - ta - nu Te - um - man sa

Urtaku the relative of Teumman; who

- ina uz zi muḥ ḥu zu la ik tu u napisti
  by an arrow was wounded; regarded not his life.
- a na na -kaṣ qaqadu ra -ma- ni su ablu Assur

  To cut off his own head, the son of Assur
- 5. (I- FIII FI (II & No. 1) FII (II & No. 1) FII (III & No. 1) FII

# damqati good omen."

- Epigraph over Two Figures; the first holding the second by the Hair of his Head, and lifting a Sword with his Right Hand. The second with a Sword in his Right Hand, cutting in two a Bow, held in his own Left Hand.
  - 1. FE FET FIF F FIT ST TE STITE (

    I tu ni i ummati Te um man

    Ituni general of Teumman
- sar Elam sa ir ļa -nis is tap-pa -ras -su king of Elam; of whom, treacherously he sent him

va ina gir parzil sib-bi su mitpanu și -mat idi su and with the steel sword of his girdle, the bow the weapon of his arm,

ik - si -ma qati ra -ma- ni su he severed in his own hand.

EPIGRAPH OVER A FIGURE LED FORWARD BY THE HAND TO RECEIVE HOMAGE.

- 2. FIV FIV Y- FIV I FIV Y--- (FI FIV Y FI FIV Y) ina e pis pi ya ina hidati ki rib Ma-dak te In performing my command, with rejoicing into Madaktu
- 4.  $\exists \text{YY} \exists \text{X} \exists \text{YY} \exists \text{Y} \text{Y} \exists \text{Y} \text{Y} \Rightarrow \text{YY} \Rightarrow \text{Y} \Rightarrow \text{YY} \Rightarrow \text{Y} \Rightarrow \text{YY} \Rightarrow \text{Y} \Rightarrow \text$
- Te um [man ik] su da qat ai

  Teumman, captured by my hands.

EPIGRAPH OVER KING (ASSURBANIPAL) IN CHARIOT RECEIVING AMBASSADORS.

1. | A- na - ku Assur - bani - pal sar Assur

I am Assurbanipal king of Assyria;

- 2. \(\mathbb{Y} \) \(\mathbb
- 4. Em Tyle (1-11) Ell Ell Fly -1 -- Assur bel ya king of Armenia; the power of Assur my lord,
- is mi va pu- luḥ tu ṣaru ti ya iṣ ḥu up su heard of, and fear of my kingdom overwhelmed him,
- va nisi zirati su a-na sa- ha al salim -mi ya and his great men to pray for my friendship,
- Um ba da ra a nisi zirati sa Elam

  and Umbadara, great men of Elam,
- ina mah ri su un in their presence.

EPIGRAPH ON TABLET K, 2637.

id - du su va [a - na] Ninua a - di maḥ - ri ya placed him, and [to] Nineveh, to my presence

u - saḥ -mi -ḍu - ni
they sent.

Epigraph (names blank) over Figures being Flayed Alive.

1. \(\begin{array}{c}\blank\) \(\begin{array}\blank\) \(\begin{array}{c}\blank\) \(\begin{array}\blank\) \(\begin{array}\blank\)

ig - bu - u suq - la - tu rab - tu lisani sū - nu uttered great curses: their tongues

as - lu - up as - hu - da masaki su - un I pulled out, I tore off their skins.

The circumstances recorded in this division of Assurbanipal's reign, probably extended over a considerable time, and the war with Teumman, which forms its main feature, was evidently considered one of the most important struggles, in which Assyria had engaged. This war, the subsequent triumph, and the tortures

of the prisoners, formed the theme of many of the sculptures, which ornamented the palace of Assurbanipal. After the flight of the Elamite princes to Assyria, Teumman sent an embassy under Umbadara and Nebodamiq, two of his chiefs, to demand that they should be given up. This Assurbanipal refused, and Teumman then declared war. Some appearance in the heavens was interpreted to indicate the overthrow of Elam; and Assurbanipal was told by the priests, that his favourite Goddess Ishtar of Arbela, had appeared in the night, and prophesied his victory. The description of her appearance in this vision, recalls the winged figure surrounded with a halo and drawing a bow, so often represented over the figures of Assyrian monarchs. The supposed bow of Ishtar appears to have been given to Assurbanipal, who afterwards often mentions it. The Elamite king retired from Duril, on the Assyrian border, at the approach of the forces of Assurbanipal; and took up a position near a town named Tulliz; having the river Ulai in front, and a wood behind his army. On the arrival of the Assyrians before his lines, Teumman sent a general named Ituni, to treat with Assurbanipal: but while he was in the Assyrian camp, the opposing forces joined in battle, and the Elamites were routed. Ituni broke his bow in despair, and several of the Elamite chiefs, showed a strong sense of the disaster, which placed their country at the mercy of Assurbanipal. Teumman and his eldest son fled, and passing through the wood tried to escape; but their chariot broke down, and they were surrounded and captured. The heads of Teumman and his son were cut off, and from the fact subsequently mentioned, that Tammaritu, Teumman's nephew, denied having done the act, it is evident that there was a belief that he was the murderer. Both Ummanigas and Tammaritu, with their adherents, fought in this battle, against their own country. After the conquest of the Elamites, Assurbanipal sent a general into Madaktu and Shushan, to proclaim Ummanigas (on K, 4796, and in place of Istar-nandi the sub-king of Hidalu, (whose head was brought to Assurbanipal) Tammaritu (written sometimes YEW Ta-am-ma-ri-it-tu, Y-X+ E-K Tam-ma-ri-ti, Y ₹ YY ₹ Ta-am-ma-ri-ti, and

Y FINY Ta-am-ri-ti), was made king in Hidalu. Afterwards, Assurbanipal punished the Gambulians, for revolting in alliance with Elam. The expedition to Gambuli, is given as part of the fifth expedition (which was against Teumman), in Cylinder A; but in Cylinder B, while the war with Teumman is called the seventh expedition, the war with Gambuli is separated from it by the usual divisional line, and called the eighth expedition. Dunanu the Gambulian, captured in this war, was son of Bilbasa, who assisted Urtaki, and grandson of a chief also named Dunanu. This name was written indifferently, \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ Du-na-nu, and Y Bu-na-nu. On his triumphal return, Assurbanipal was met at Arbela, by the envoys of Rusā king of Ararat or Armenia; who came to make peace with him. Ruṣā is probably the same as the Saduri of Cylinder A. The name means "Istar," is a fortress, and was originally sounded Istar-duri, but by dropping the initial I and running the n into D the name became | Sa-ar-da-ur-ri (the name of the king of Ararat who fought with Tiglath Pileser II). The first element in this name, suffered a further change; Sar being contracted to Sā or Sē, as in Y = YY = YY = Y - YY Se-e-du-ri (the king of Ararat who fought with Shalmaneser II). The name is sometimes written with the position of the elements reversed, and then reads Dur-ṣā, which is probably the origin of Ur-sa-a, and Y W Ru-sa-a, forms of the name of two late kings of Ararat.

### PART IX.

The Revolt of Saulmugina, Brother of Assurbanipal.

#### TEXTS.

The texts of this part of the history, are more numerous than those of any other period. Only the most important are here translated, the numbers of some of the others being given at the end for reference. The principal texts are Cylinder A, col. iv, line 6, to col. v, line 43, and Cylinder B, col. vi, line 93, to col. vii, line 87. The text of Cylinder C, which differs from both these, is too mutilated to be worth translating; but the closing passage which continues the narrative of Cylinder B is given. The date from a proclamation of Assurbanipal, K, 84, passages at close of a number of omen tablets, with a series of Epigraphs and Dispatches are also translated.

Cylinder A, Column IV, Line 6, to Column V, Line 43.

[aḥu la ke] - e - nu [sa ḍabtu e - pu] - su - us my younger [brother; benefits I had given] to him, and

[as - ku - nu - us a - na saru - ut] Bab - ili
[had appointed him to the kingdom of] Babylon

* * * * * va ad - din su
→ ☐ 〈☐ E ☐ 9.
kiri [man-da-at-tu] bilat u'-sa-tir and plantations. [Tribute] and taxes, I caused to return,
va eli abi bani ya [e - pu - uṣ ṣu] va and more than the father my begetter, [I did for him]. And
Su-u damqatu an - ni - tu  he these favours  12. [-E]
is - te - ni - ha - a limut - tu
iz  -
\( \) \( \
Assur am - ru [a- na sa- ha - al salim - mi] ya  Assyria I ruled. [To pray for] my [friendship]
ip - ru - uṣ va nakiri ina elappi * * * ceased, and enemies in ships * * *

it - ti su- un ina tan- ni - kil - ti a - na with them, pretending to

[\varphi \leftarrow \rightarrow \rightarro

[mah - ri ya] is - pu - ras-su-nu - ti a - na - ku
[my presence] he sent them.

20. If I is a - na - ku
I am

Assur-bani-pal sar Assur [sa] Ili rabati

Assurbanipal king of Assyria, [to whom] the great Gods'

(I- → (I- ¬ → 21. ► (I- → I □ → I - ② → Si -mu su ku-bat su ina \* \* \* \* excellent fame have renowned him. His might in \* \* \*

lu -bul - ti kitu bir - mi u - lab - bi - şu -nu - ti costly garments I placed upon them,

semir- ri huraz u -rak- ki - şa sit - te - (e) su- un rings of gold I fastened on their feet,

- Assur u su (uz) zu i dag ga lu

  Assyria they were set up, they were honoured
- 27. # -- | \Psi = \Psi | \frac{1}{2} \Psi | \frac
- Y→Y≡Y→© ☆→YX → Y 28. EXXX → EY ⟨YEY = YY → W Saul -mu- gi na aḥu la ke e nu sa Saulmugina, my younger brother; who
- la iz zu ru a di ya nisi Akkad did not keep my agreement, the people of Akkad,
- Kal-du A-ru (v. ra) -mu tam-ti ul-tu

  Chaldea, Aram, and the sea coast, from
- A qa ba a di Bab şa li -mi ti

  Aqaba to Babsalimitu,

- [Kutu] ip ru şa aḥ u-ut [bit] duri
  [Kutha,] broke off the brotherhood, and the walls
- alani sa a tu nu mun taḥ ze e su

  of those cities his fighting men he
- 41. [FIIIF] TO FEII EN EN TO THE LANGE IN THE STATE OF THE LANGE IN TH
- ya la pa-an Bel ablu Bel nu- ur Ili
  my, from the face of Bel son of Bel,

  43. 

  43. 

  the light of the Gods

- Samas qu ra du Ninip iq su va Shamas, the warrior Ninip, he revolted; and

- es ri ti su-nu ud- di -su u -za- hi i nu their temples I had restored, adorned with

- immi su (va) istin sapru ina sat mu-si u tul va those days, then a seer in the middle of the night, slept and

- Assur-bani- pal sar Assur ik bu du

  Assurbanipal king of Assyria, devised

- (I-II-) → EI I-II ☆ I ≍ II (► II) EII (⟨) ▷ 52. ❖ ⟨ → EI limut tu ip pu su ze (e) lu (u) tu evil. Battle is prepared; a violent
- 53. (\Rightarrow \Rightarrow \
- Ninip u qat ta a nap sat su un Ninip, I will destroy their lives."
- an na a ti as -me e va ad gil a na a -mat Sin This I heard, and trusted to the will of Sin
- bel ya ina sassi gar ri ya ad ki umman ya my lord. In my sixth expedition I gathered my army;
- 56. EXT I → I = I → E → II ← I → III → I → III → III
- Bar sip Kutu sa a su ga du

  Borsippa, and Kutha, him and part

di

- as tak ka na abikta su și it tu ti

  I accomplished his overthrow. The rest,
- ina libit Ninip su un qu bu bu ti in the judgment of Ninip, drought and famine
- 62. ► II ► FINATE IVE SET IN SET IN
- Elam si kin qati ya sa da ha a tu appointed by my hand; who the bribe
- im hu ru su it ba a ana (v. a na) kit ri su received, and came to his aid.
- 64. Y Y EY YY EY EXY TY I LI FY FYYY EY W YY I

  Tam-ma- ri tu zir us -su ip pal kit va sa -a -su

  Tammaritu against him revolted, and him
- arku Tam-ma-ri tu sa arku Um-man-i-gas

  Afterwards Tammaritu, who after Ummanigas,
- 67.  $\Rightarrow |Y| \Rightarrow \langle Y \Rightarrow \Rightarrow \Rightarrow \Rightarrow \Rightarrow \langle Y \Rightarrow \rangle \rangle$

- (v. Ahu la ke e nu) il lik av va a na (v. younger brother), he went and to
- mit hu zi umman ya ur ri ha kakki su fight my army, he prepared his soldiers.
- 72. FIN FR & FIN A-II IV Y Y (v. FAN FR (v. il qu u) my supplications they received (v. took),
- arad ṣu zir us su ip pal kit (v. ki tu) va his servant, against him revolted, and
- 74. - TATE TO STAND THE STAND THE
- ⟨⟨ \( \) \( \

- Te um man me ri iḥ tu ig bu u

  Teumman untruth had spoken;
- 77. 云川[闰→町]→田〈闰→三川 六川井 云 吳州 六〈二日〈旦 um [ma la] ak - ki - ṣu qaqadu ṣar Elam thus: "I have [not] cut off the head of the king of Elam
- 78. \* \* \* \* ina puḥri umman su sa ni ha a-nu ig bi \* \* \* \* in the assembly of his army." Again he said:
- 79.  $\langle Y-Y = Y \rangle$   $\langle Y-Y = Y$
- qaq qa ru ina maḥri a mir i sa ground; in the presence of the envoys of
- Assur bani pal sar Assur eli

  Assurbanipal king of Assyria." For
- a ma a ti an na a ti sa il zi nu these matters, which he had mocked,
- 82. -- | Assur va Istar i ri hu su va Tam -ma ri tu

  Assur and Ishtar turned from him; and Tammaritu
- 83. Emit from I EII 7 I (\* FIIII EI I EX) (\* his brothers, his kin, the seed of his father's house with

- In da bi gas in nab tu niv va

  Indabigas fled, and
- me ra nu us su un ina eli lib bi su nu their bitterness within their hearts

- 88. The street of three three
- a na e pis ardu ti ya ra man su im nu va to do my service, himself set,

- rap -su la ka zir ik ki mu pa și şu heart, of defection the remover, forgiver of
- A EII II → I ← 96. II → I I → II → II → II → III → II

- im mi su nisi Akkad sa it ti those days the people of Akkad, who with
- Saul -mu- gi na is sak -nu ik bu -du Saulmugina were placed, and devised
- limut ni ip ri tu iz bat şu nu ti a- na evil; famine took them, for their

- bu ri su-nu șeri abli su-nu binti șu-nu food the flesh of their sons and their daughters

- 105. → I (W EII → II ← II → II ← III → II EII Istar sa Arba il Ninip Nergal Nusku Ishtar of Arbela, Ninip, Nergal, and Nusku,
- sa ina maḥ ri ya il li ku i na ru

  who in my presence marched and destroyed
- ga ri ya Saul -mu- gi na aḥi nak ri my enemies: Salmugina my rebellious brother,
- sa i gi ra an-ni ina me-kit isati a [ri] ri
  who made war with me; in the fierce burning fire
- id du su va u hal li qu nap-sat şu they threw him, and destroyed his life.
- va nisi sa a na Saul -mu- gi na

  And the people who to Saulmugina

- ahi nak ri u sak pi du my rebellious brother, he had caused to join,
- ip se e tu an ni tu limut tu e pu-su and these evil things did;
- sa me tu tu ib ba hu nap sat șu nu who death deserved, their lives
- pa nu us -su- un te bis u va it ti before them being precious: with
- ina isati (la) pa an ni kiṣ gir parzil in the fire, (from) before the edge of the sword,

- beli ya sa la na-par-su-di
  my lords, which was not removed

- 121. EFF-Y ESS MEY (FIS FILL ESTY EIN FEIT mul tah du ul u zi ina qati ya a sinner did not escape from my hands,
- 123. FY Y THY -

#### COLUMN V.

- 1.  $\Psi \models ||| \land (v. \Psi \not\sqsubseteq |) \models |||| \not\sqsubseteq | \land || = ||| \models || \land || \land || \Rightarrow || \Rightarrow || \land || \Rightarrow || \Rightarrow || \land || \Rightarrow || \Rightarrow || \land || \Rightarrow || \Rightarrow || \land || \land || \Rightarrow || \land || \land$
- [IV (III) EII IV EIV 2. FIVI I---- W IV EIV IV III III IV III -
- suq la tu pi i su-nu eli Assur Ili ya curses of their mouth, against Assur my God
- suq la tu ig bu u [va] ya a ti curses uttered; [and against] me, the
- rubu pa laḥ su ik bu du ni limut tu
  prince his worshipper, had devised evil:

- 5. IT I + I I FOR (I- I + I I A- IIII lisan su-nu as lu uk abikta su-nu as kun their tongues I pulled out, their overthrow I accomplished.
- 6. FITE AND AND STATE OF THE PEOPLE alive among the stone lions and bulls,
- lib bi iṣ pu nu e nin na a na ku ina midst had thrown; again I in
- ⟨E| ≥| ^|- | ≥||| | →
  ♥ | →
  9. ^|| □

  ki iz pi su nisi sa a tu nu that pit,
  those men in the midst
- aș pu un șeri nu uk ku șu (u) ti .

  threw. The limbs cut off
- 11. Design of heaven, and fishes of the

- Ili rabati beli ya pagari nisi
  great Gods my lords. The bodies of the men
- su un ki (v. qi) bu bu ti is ku nu na pis tu drought and famine had passed their lives;

- ina si par i sib bu ti parakki su-nu ub bi \* \*

  In splendour, the seats of their sanctuaries I built(?).

- 23. -- | | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | ----- | ----- | ---- | ---- | ----- | ----- | ----- | ----- | -----
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- i mi zu ki ma (v. kima) sa im mi ul lu u ti they had removed, like in days of old,
- 26. ightharpoonup 
  ightharpoonup

- 29. (小川 新 川 川 川 川 川 川 川 〒 e mu va ni ip ri ti i se tu u ni re e mu and privation had fled; favour
- ar si su-nu- ti ba lad napis ti su-nu ag bi

  I granted them, the saving of their lives I commanded:

- A ra (v. ru) mu tam ti Aram and the sea;

- tig li ya a- na pat gim ri su-nu ak bu uș my protectors, on the whole of them I trampled,

- 39. 

  as-tak ka na e li su-un di ka i

  I established over them. The institutions

- gi ne e (v. nu u) ris i Assur va Belat and high ordinances(?) of Assur and Beltis,
- va Ili Assur u kin zir us -su- un and the Gods of Assyria, I fixed upon them;
- sum -ma la na -par- ka -a e -mid su nu ti
  the sum undiminished I fixed on them.

CYLINDER B, COLUMN VI, LINE 93, TO COLUMN VII, LINE 87.

- e bu -su us as ku nu us a na saru ut had given him, and appointed him to the kingdom of
- Elam sa damqa ti la ḥa aṣ ṣu

  Elam; who the favour disregarded, and

### COLUMN VII.

- 1. ETTT EY (IE) ETTT EY &H KY SIII

  ahu la ke nu nakiri ya im hu ru

  my younger brother, my enemy, he received a
- da ha tu e -mu qi su it ti su un is pu ra bribe.

  His forces with them he sent
- sa ina Gan- dun ya- as it ta na al la ku who in Ganduniyas marched, and
- u kib ba şu Kal du ina la i di zi ir trampled on Chaldea. Against my hand(?) unto
- Un da și ablu Te um -man șar Elam

  Undasi son of Teumman king of Elam,
- va Zazaz niru Bil la te and Zazaz chief of Billate,

a-lik pa-ni umman sa Elam a-na mit-ḥu-zi leader of the army of Elam, to fight

it - ti umman Assur Um -man-i -gas with the army of Assyria, Ummanigas

u -ma- hi - ir su-nu- ti' is - kun su-nu- ti sent them, and appointed them

Assur tir - ra tuk-te - e abi ba - ni ki

Assyria revenge the slaying of the father thy begetter.

19. \ \ \overline{\overlin

a - mir - i sa Saul - mu - gi - na the messengers of Saulmugina



[Assur] Bel Nabu Nergal Ili [rabati [Assur], Bel, Nebo and Nergal, the [great] Gods

beli ya] di - in kit - ti
[my lords;] a certain judgment against

Um -man-i-gas i - di -nu in - ni Tam-ma- ri - tu

Ummanigas, appointed me. Tammaritu,

zir - us - su ip - pal - kit va sa - a - su ga - du against him revolted, and him and part

 $\langle \Sigma | \rangle$   $\prec | \langle \rangle$   $| \rangle$  |

 (v. ≥||| →|||√|)
 || →|| ⇒|| →|| ⇒|| →||
 44. Emit → ≥|

 (v. kit - ri)
 Saul - mu - gi - na aḥu la
 aḥu la

 (v. aid)
 of
 Saulmugina
 my younger

- ke e -nu il lik av -va a na mit-ḥu uz zi brother he went, and to fight
- umman ya ur ri ḥa kakki su ina my army he prepared his soldiers. In
- 47. EYYY A EYY AH -YY YYY EYYY ta ni hi ya im hu ru is mu u zi kar my supplication they received, and heard the words of
- sapti ya ardi su zir us -su ip pal ki tu va my lips.

  His servants against him revolted, and
- 49. If If \( \frac{1}{2} \rightarrow = \frac
- sa și hu eli su u sab su u u sib the revolt against him made, sat
- sa mi ri iḥ tu ig bu · u eli

  who untruth had spoken, concerning

ni - kis qaqadu Te - um - man sa ik - ki - şu the decapitated head of Teumman; which he had cut off

a - hu - ru - u umman ya va ahi su in sight of my army:

56. (I-III ETTI I----- I and his brothers,

qi -nu su ziri bit abi su it - ti 85 rubi his kin, the seed of his father's house, with eighty-five princes of

- Elam a li kut i di idi su

  Elam, marching before him;
- sa la pa- an kakki Assur va Istar ip par su du who from the face of the soldiers of Assur and Ishtar fled,

- 70. | Y E Y E FINA E FINA E I FINA E I I Tam-ma-ri tu ga [du ziri bit abi su]

  Tammaritu and part [of the seed of his fathers house]
- 71.  $\langle |\underline{E}| = |\underline{I}| |\underline{I}| = |\underline{I}| = |\underline{I}| |\underline{I}| = |$

- kit ri Nabu -bel zikri ablu Maruduk -bal iddina aid Nebobelzikri the son of Merodachbaladan,
- sa ki -ma ip ri tap- pe e a na zir mata su who like an earth-wall guarding his country,
- it ta na al la ku it ti su sa whom
- Nabu bel zikri ina pi ir za a ti

  Nebobelzikri by treachery
- 81. \*\(\forall \) (v. \(\begin{align\*} \begin{align\*} \begin{align
- (国・監官 82. 「基邦 医官 二 医部 \*\* (二) 計(国 ki li In da bi gas ṣar Elam boat. Indabigas king of Elam,

- damqati su la ḥa- de [e ul tu me] şir mati su messengers, sorrowfully [from the] border of his country.
- 86. IN SIN IN IN IN WELL I (IX IV)

  ina qati a mir su [a na sa kan a de e]

  By the hand of his envoy, [to make agreement]
- Va
  şu
   E|| | E||
- maḥ ri (v. mahri) ya

  my presence.

## CONTINUED ON CYLINDER C.

- 88. (本国 | >> | 一日 | | 本 | >>> | 本 | >> | (二寸 | | ) | 本 | | eli Nabu bel zikri ablu Maruduk bal iddina About Nebobelzikri son of Merodachbaladan,
- il li ku a na Elam va and went to Elam: and
- si it ti abli Assur sa the rest of the sons of Assur, whom

- Nabu bel zikri ina pi ir za a ti

  Nebobelzikri by treachery
- 93. FIME A FIME FIME FIME FIME FIME 94. Function of the sum of the
- qati a-mir su a- na In da bi-gas ki a am hand of his envoy to Indabigas, even I
- tu se- bi la um -ma al la kav -va alani ka send, thus; I will march; thy cities
- 1 will destroy; the people of Shushan, Madaktu and
- ka a-dak-ki ka va [sa] nam-ma ina kuzzu

  I will hurl thee; and another on thy throne,
- ka u -[se-sib] \* \* mis ina pan Te um man I will seat. As, formerly Teumman
- u sap ri ku u sam ḥar ka

  I crushed; I will cause to destroy thee,

- ka a ta
  [su] u a mir su ma har su
  [this is] to thee.

  He, his envoy before him
- de e mi ya [ina tugul] ti Assur Sin Samas of my will. [In] the service of Assur, Sin, Shamas,
- Bel Nabu [Istar sa] Ninua Istar sa
  Bel, Nebo, [Ishtar of] Nineveh, Ishtar of
- Arba il Ninip Nusku Nergal sa

  Arbela, Ninip, Nusku and Nergal, who
- it tal la ku ida ai i na ar ru ga ri ya march before me, and destroy my enemies;
- 108. [\forall \text{FIII}] \text{FIII} \text{\text{V}} \text{\text{EII}} \text{\text{(v. Extra \text{\text{EII}} \text{\text{\text{EII}} \text{\text{EII}} \text{\text{EII}} \text{\text{\text{EII}} \text{\text{\text{EII}}} \text{
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111. かくごとくとう (v. -)[[本]] 112. [からりを] Elam is - ḥu - up (v. ḥup) va [mat ṣu zir] Elam overwhelmed, and [his country against]

In - da - bi -gas ip - pal - ki - tu i - na - ru - us

Indabigas revolted, and they destroyed him

ina kakki Um -man- al - da - și ablu with the sword.

Um man- al - da - și ablu Ummanaldasi son of

| TEN ENT | TEN |

Date at close of a Proclamation to the Babylonians, K, 84.

Araḥ Airu immi 23 lim - mu Assur- dur -uzur Month Iyyar, twenty-thrid day, eponym Assurduruzur.

Sa - mas-balaḍ- ṣu - ig - bi it - ta - bel

Shamasbaladsuigbi brought [it].

OMEN TABLET FRAGMENT.

Saul - mu - gi - na a - na qati su- un
Saulmugina to their hands they

hal Hi - sa - am - ma - il - ai ina adi de - e - mi the hal and Hisammailai, at command

ina lib - e - kal esse e -tap-pu - su in the midst of the new palace made.

Passage at the close of Omen Tablet K, 159.

dabtu Assur-bani-pal sar Assur bin - ut qati ka bel su benefits of Assurbanipal king of Assyria the work of thy hands his lord,

who the worship of thy great name

d. \( \) \\( \) \(

i -mi-su sal-dis i - nin - na - Assur-bani - pal şar is valiant martially. Again, Assurbanipal king of

Assur pa - luḥ ka is - mu - u va um -ma

Assyria thy worshipper has heard also this:

| Iu - u | kal - da - ai | lu - u | the | Chaldeans, | and the

Gun - dun - i sa niri Assur-bani-pal bin - ut Gandunians, who the yoke of Assurbanipal the work

qati ka \* \* tu ana epes kakki qabal va taḥaz of thy hands have rejected (?) to make fighting, war and battle

itti su - nu im - maḥ - ḥa - a - za ul - ḍabu with them he was prepared.

\*\*O. (\*\*|\* &\*\*|||\*| \*\*O. (\*\*|\* &\*\*|||\*| \*\*O. (\*\*)\*

\*\*O. (\*\*|\* &\*\*||\*| \*\*O. (\*\*)\*

\*\*O. (\*\*|\* & \*\*||\*)\*

\*\*O. (\*\*)\*

\*\*O. (

a- na pul- luh lu - u a- na za-bat qati va mi- şir through fearing to be captured in hand, the border

la ip - pal - ak - ki - ta araḥ Nisannu immi 4

did not revolt.

t. - T E T ' Y E T '

bel - ku saptu lib e - kal esse e -tap-su the belku in the new palace made.

PASSAGE AT CLOSE OF OMEN TABLET K, 4696.

 $a. [ \rightarrow ]$  $b. \not\models [ \rightarrow ] \not \Leftrightarrow [$ 

c. [\(\) \( \) \(

va lib su [it - ti] Saul -mu- gi - na \* \* \* \* and his heart [with] Saulmugina \* \* \*

REVERSE.

araḥ Abu immi 11 lim - mu [Ṣa-gab]

Month Ab, eleventh day, eponym [Sagab]

PASSAGE AT CLOSE OF OMEN TABLET K, 28.

a. [E]]] Y (()) E W - F - F F E - F [E]]

[Ta] immi 22 sa araḥ an - ni - i araḥ Duvazu

From the twenty-second day of this month, the month Tammuz,

c.  $[Y \rightarrow Y] \iff = \overline{YY} \Rightarrow |Y| \Rightarrow |Y| \Rightarrow |Y|$ Sin - tab - ni - u - zur ablu su sa
Sintabniuzur, his son of

h. ※ \* \* \* \* lib - ba - su \* \* \* \* \* his heart.

Passage at close of Omen Tablet K, 1360.

Ultu immi 8 sa araḥ an - ni araḥ Abu
From the eighth day of this month, the month Ab,

- a- di immi 7 sa araḥ Ululu zabi Elami
  to the seventh day of the month Elul. The men of Elam
- illikuni(?) kakki qabal va taḥaz itti zabi
  marched(?) fighting battle and war with the men
- id -dan sa Assur-bani-pal sar Assur ib -bu-su- u belonging to Assurbanipal king of Assyria, was made.
- $\langle \mathsf{F} | \mathsf{c} \rangle$  $\langle \mathsf{F} | \mathsf{c} \rangle$
- h. Fin II II III 'Y FE (I- \* I F \* Sa-gab the bilku(?) month Elul seventh day, eponym Sagab.

Passage at close of Omen Tablet K, 4.

- f. (( F ) EM H W | AH H A EM A ABU
  the work of thy hands, who unto thee is good,

- i.  $|\cdot| \cdot |\cdot| \Rightarrow |\cdot| \Rightarrow |\cdot| \cdot |\cdot| \Rightarrow |\cdot| \Rightarrow |\cdot| \cdot |\cdot| \Rightarrow |$
- i hal li ki 5 libiti(?) ina lib ul

  he broke away. Five omens in heart were not
- dabu Arah Tasritu immi 15 lim-mu Sa-gab good. Month Tisri, fifteenth day, eponym Sagab,
- beli uzzi tam mu uș șu uzzi lords strength continue to him, their

Passage at close of Omen Tablet K, 3161.

a. [A] A Samna sa sanat The seventeenth day of this month, the month Marchesvan of

an - na uzzus (?) sa zabi id - dan sa this year, it was that the men belonging to

Assur-bani-pal şar Assur ana eli Saul -mu- gi - na Assurbanipal king of Assyria went over to Saulmugina;

k.  $[-] \cong [M] \cong [M] \cong [M] \cong [M] \cong [M]$ [ina lib Bit] -ridu - te · e -tap-su

[In the midst] of Bitridute made.

K, 312. Proclamation of the King to the People of the Sea Coast.

1. If it is ab - ba - i

A-mat sar a-na nisi mat tam- ti nisi ab - ba - i

The will of the king to the men of the coast, the sea,

va abli ardi a salim-nu ai - si lib - ba and the sons of my servants; my peace to your

na - ak - ka - a - ha ina lib sa eni ai ina eli sharply, from out of my eyes, over

ku - nu - si a - du - u

you.

Now,

Belibni my servant,

du - ba - si ya a - na a - lik pa - nu - ti ana eli
my deputy, to go before, to be over

sa ina eli ya ḍa-[bu] \* \* ina lib a - mat which is in me good \* \* in the will 15. Ψ - → Y 16. ETTY sa ina lib - bi sa nisi which in the heart \* \* \* 17. (国 ※※※※ 18. 4 到 默 ] 深 tam-ma-ra-ni ki ut \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* sa ardi sa zi  $_{
m mi}$ of the servants who \* \* \*

Image: A contract of the second and the second an

ku-nu va dabtu ku-nu i - na emur ya good and your benefit in my sight.

DATE.

Araḥ Airu immi 5 lim - mu Bel-ḥarran-sad-u-a Month Iyyar, fifth day, eponym Belharransadua

### K, 4457.

- 1. [| \( \) \\ \( \) \(
- (( ) [( ) ] ( ) ]
  2. | ( ) | ( ) | ( ) | ( ) |

  sar
  [Elam]
  Ut-te-di nisi rab [mitpanu]

  king of [Elum].
  Uttedi commander of archers,
- 3. Y FINI (\( \) FINE FINE FINE FINE FINITE FINITE
- 4. Y AY EY -YYY AY ( A CITY EY (E) WYY -YYYY -YYYY Tam ma- ri tu şar Elam sa a na kit ri Tammaritu king of Elam, who to the aid of .

- Assur-bani-pal sar Assur Assur va Istar am hu ur Assurbanipal king of Assyria, Assur and Ishtar invoked;
- arad su zir us su ip pal kit va ina tahaz his servant, against him revolted, and in the battle

- zin is ku-nu abikta su nisi Tam-ma- ri tu field accomplished his overthrow.

  7. FINT IN TAM-ma of Tammaritu
- ultu qabal tam-ḥa- ri in -nab-tu-niv-va abikta umman su from the midst of the battle fled and of the defeat of his army
- ig bu su va in -nab- ta u ru uḥ -ḥi tam- ti told him; and he fled by the way of the sea.
- 12. FINN Y SY SY SY SY SY SY SY SELAM

  Elap Tam ma ri tu sar Elam

  The ship of Tammaritu king of Elam,
- ahi su qi ni su ziri bit abi su rubi his brothers, his kin, the seed of his father's house, and the princes
- [a-lik] idi su sa si-ik-nu di-ru-u ru-taq-tu [going] before him, which was sinking (?) \* \* \* \* \*
- iz-ba-tu \* \* \* \* \* ba-ti su-u ul-tu had taken. \* \* \* \* \* he from
- a na arku su is si ma ru us tu qaq qar on his back he carried sick. The

₩(;)

on.

u - par - ri \* \* \* us(?) nam - ra - zi ground he placed him

u -se-rib su ki - rib qani \* \* \* a - na bu - ri su-nu he caused him to enter into the reeds. For their food

\* \* \* sa ut \* \* \* zib \* \* \* which

#### REVERSE.

1.14日三三年三 Tam-ma- ri - tu sar Elam sa pa - an Tammaritu king of Elam, who before

In - da - bi - gas ip - pal ina ki - rib mar - ra - ti Indabigas fell; in the midst of the sea

连(国际川洋川州外组目组型以 3.1111国 i - ki - il pa - a e - mu - ru ma - ru - us - tu a - na - ku sailed(?) and had seen sickness.

1--19 年 11 ( 2 -- 11/19 里 三 11/19 里 三 Assur -bani-pal şar Assur ri - he - e - ti şaru - ti ya Assurbanipal king of Assyria, my royal friendship

u - se - bil su ri - ḥe - e - ti sa - a - ti - na sent to him. That friendship he

会并 会庫 頁 ➤ 《下 章菜 图 4 ≥ 川岸 连州 im - har va ina mahri ummati received, and in presence of my general 2 (

- 7. FII I -- I FII W FII W FIII Sa Assur bani pal sar Assur sa ki rib of Assurbanipal king of Assyria; who in
- Elam is ku nu su a na şaru ti

  Elam had appointed him to the kingdom.

- 11. [\frac{\fir}{\frac}\frac{\frac{\frac{\frac{\fir}{\frac{\frac{\frac{\frac{\frac{\frac{\frac{\frac{\frac{\frac{\

1 4 目 -114 4 -146 (国 三川 巨) 14. 淡溪 Tam-ma- ri - tu ik - ki - su gabal Tammaritu had cut off in the midst of 15. 淡淡淡淡 [譯美] 竹] 针样 譯 27 TT - 174 tam - ha - ri ummati battle. my general ※ 本川 町 神 一人 sa Um - man - i - gas Ma-dak - tu Madaktu. who Ummanigas

K, 2825. Partly Restored from Fragments of Duplicate Tablets.

a. Y ►Y ►Y → EY ← CY ►Y ← (I Y ►Y)

Tam-ma- ri - tu ṣar Elam (su-a-tu)

Tammaritu king of Elam (that),

a - di Um -man - al - das Pa - ra \* \* [aḥi su]

and Ummanaldas, Para \* \* [his brothers]

TIN (国 ) FIN ( 本 年 ) FIN ( 小 本 中 Elam Um -man - ni ablu Um -man - pi - ha Elam, Ummanamni son of Ummanpiha

sar [Elam] it - ti 17 qi - ni su ziri king of [Elam], with seventeen of his kin, the seed of

bit abi su va 86 rubi a - li - kut idi su his father's house, and eighty-six princes going before him;

a - na da - lal \* \* \* \* it - ti Maruduk sar - uzur to exalt \* \* \* with Merodachsaruzur

 ETH
 EN
 EN
 EN
 EN

 ummati
 ya
 sa
 ip
 \* \* \* \* \* \*

 my
 general,
 who
 \* \* \* \* \* \*

g. (\(\sigma\) \(\sigma\) \(\sigm

ip - si - lu - niv - va iz - ba - tu \* \* \* \* \* raged, and they took \* \* \* \*

K, 599. DISPATCH FROM AN OFFICER TO THE KING.

Bel - ib - ni

Belibni;

3. --|& --| \*| \ --| \ --| \ \*| \ E||

Assur Samas va Maruduk araku

Assur, Shamas and Merodach, length of

- immi du ub lib bi va du ub şiri sa days, sound heart, and sound body, to the
- be-eli sarri bel ya liq-bu- u a-na eli lord of kings my lord grant. Concerning
- rabati sa a na sar bel ya as pur a du u great men, whom to the king my lord I send, thus:
- Tam-mar-i-ti ahi sa nisi qi-na su
  "Tammaritu, the brothers, his kinsmen and

- 15. <u>\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*</u>
  \* \* \* \* \* \*

EXTRACT FROM A DISPATCH MENTIONING THE DEATH OF INDABIGAS KING OF ELAM. K, 13.

- Bel ib ni [Assur Samas va Maruduk] du bi

  Belibni. [From Assur, Shamas and Merodach,] sound
- lib bi du bi siri

  heart and sound body;

  3. [Y E Y E Y Y ---- (] E Y

  [a ra ku immi va] la -bar

  [length of days, and] long
- pal e ana bel sarri [sar matati bel ya] life; to the lord of kings [king of the earth my lord.]
- de e mu sa Elam [Um -ma-ḥal]- da a su

  The news from Elam, Ummanaldas;
- sar maḥ ru u sa iḥ li qa
  the former king has destroyed,
- 7. [Li] -||\(\delta\) -|\(\delta\) -|\(\delt
- gab-bi ki i ik mi şu U la ai a na all; then he subdued. The Ulai in its
- su pal sa a ru i te bir a na depth a flood, he crossed, to

- Ta la aḥ it tal ka niru

  Talah he went. The chief

- it tal ku pa ni su nu a na alu su

  went before them, to his city
- Ha ri şu un şi

  Harisundasi.
- EPIGRAPH OVER KING IN CHARIOT RECEIVING PRISONERS AND SPOIL. Line 7 from Duplicate on Tablet Fragment.
- 2. \( \psi = \left(\frac{1}{2} \) \( \frac{1}{2} \) \( \frac{1}{2}
- 4. FIT TO FIT ( W ) -- | F | -- |

- su zabi taḥaz su ruqubi sa sad da di
  his men of war, the powerful war chariots,
- ru du belu ti su susi zi bi ti his lordly carriages, horses trained to the
- ba su u nisi zik ru (v. zi kar)

  were;

  people male
- ina maḥ ri (v. maḥri) ya
  into my presence.

It is necessary in this division of the reign to give a more detailed account of the events, many of the inscriptions relating to it being too long to translate here; but for every fact of importance a reference is given to the inscription from which the statement is drawn (in cases where the inscription is not translated), that students may be able to compare the original documents.

After he had established Ummanigas and Tammaritu in Elam, Assurbanipal sent an envoy to Elam (K, 2644) to demand the return of the image of Nana, which the Elamites had carried off to Shushan; and a little later, Saulmugina, brother of Assurbanipal,

instigated all the tributary states to revolt against Assurbanipal. Saulmugina is the Saosduchinus of Ptolemy, his name is written 1 -- 1 = 1 - (金 水 - 1) & - 1 and 1 -- 1 = 1 - (金 水 だ). The first element = is rendered in Cun. Ins. Vol. II, p. 45, line 49, by Sa-mul-lu, the second element is sum or zikar, and the third - YY or Ty gina in Akkad, is ukin in Assyrian, the whole name was probably Samul-zikar-ukin, or Samul-sum-ukin in Assyrian. Probably, by the will of Esarhaddon, Saulmugina was made king of Babylon at his death. K, 3050, and the Cylinder of Assurbanipal in the Louvre exhibit Saulmugina as on intimate terms with Assurbanipal, and this state of affairs lasted for about seventeen years. During the eponymy of Assurduruzur, Saulmugina planned a revolt against his brother, which Assurbanipal represents as very ungrateful. The inscriptions seem to show that Assurbanipal only allowed his brother a nominal sovereignty round Babylon, and Saulmugina desiring to be independent, sent messengers to the various subject rulers to persuade them to join him in throwing off the Assyrian yoke. The most important tributary was Ummanigas of Elam, and to insure his aid, Saulmugina opened the treasuries of the temple of Bel at Babylon, the temple of Nebo at Borsippa, and the temple of Nergal at Kutha, and sent their treasures as a present to the Elamite monarch (K, 2631). Ummanigas received the bribe, and sent his troops to Babylonia. Other messengers were sent by Saulmugina to the various rulers round Babylonia, and Y W X Kudur governor of Uruk (Warka) sent a dispatch to Assurbanipal (K, 5457), telling him that he had heard from Sintabniuzur, governor of Ur, of the arrival of the messenger of Saulmugina at that city, and that part of the people had revolted. Kudur then took 500 men from Uruk, and joining Y 年 新Y YY - XI - YY > > = 全 建学 YY Palia, prefect of Arrapha, and Y = Y = YY YY - II - YY > YY Y- = Zabea, prefect of Amida, went down to Ur; but he could not stop the revolt, and Sintabniuzur himself went over to Saulmugina. Meanwhile the Babylonian king sent an embassy to Assyria to assure Assurbanipal of his devotion; on the return of this embassy, the general revolt broke out, and is said to have included Ummanigas of Elam, and his feudatory chiefs, Saulmugina of Babylon, the Guti

After the departure of the Elamite forces to Babylonia, Tammaritu the son† of Ummanigas, assisted by his uncle Tammaritu, who was sub-king of Hidalu, revolted against his father, and to gain over the war party which was hostile to Assyria, he declared that he had not killed Teumman, and accused Ummanigas of being the only one who had submitted to Assurbanipal. In the battle which followed, Tammaritu gained the victory, and cut off his father's head. Saulmugina subsidised Tammaritu, and he, like his father, marched his troops into Babylonia against Assurbanipal. While there, Indabigas raised a revolt and drove him from the throne, and Tammaritu and his adherents embarked on the Persian gulf, and after considerable suffering landed and took refuge in the marshy district of the lower Euphrates, here having been assured of a good reception, they surrendered to Merodachsaruzur, a general serving under Belibni the governor of Assurbanipal (K, 1610, and K, 2825), and were sent by Belibni to Assyria.

Assurbanipal appears at first to have been overwhelmed by the magnitude of his misfortune, but the vigour of some of the Assyrian generals prevented the revolt becoming universal; Paliya, governor of Arbaha or Arrapha, on the northern border of Elam, held that side, and we are told, K, 159, that from fear of capture, that part

<sup>\*</sup> The contempt of chronology in the Assyrian records is well shown by the fact that in Cylinder A, the account of the revolt of Psammitichus is given under the third expedition, while the general account of the rebellion of Saulmugina is given under the sixth expedition, the affair of Nebobelzikri under the eighth expedition, and the Arabian and Syrian events in connexion are given under the ninth expedition.

<sup>†</sup> It is only while writing this Division that I have found that the Tammaritu who revolted against Ummanigas, was his son, and not his brother; he is sometimes called "Tammaritu the younger," and "Tammaritu the later," to distinguish him from his uncle, who bore the same name.

of Elam did not join the revolt, and Kudur, governor of Uruk, held that important city for Assurbanipal. In the eponymy of Sagab, reinforcements were sent into Babylonia, and next year, in the eponymy of Bilharransadua, Belibni was appointed governor in south Babylonia.\*

The Assyrian forces having defeated the confederate army of Babylonians, Elamites, and Arabians, shut them up in the four cities of Babylon, Borsippa, Kutha, and Sipara; here they were besieged. until in the extremity of famine, the people eat their own children. After a vain attempt at a sortie, Babylon fell, and Saulmugina was burned.† After the eapture of Babylon, the country was annexed to Assyria, and an Assyrian general named Samasdainani was made governor of Babylon and the surrounding district. Nebobelzikri, | the Chaldean who had joined the revolt, had taken captive the Assyrian garrison which guarded his country, and when the revolt failed, he made his escape into Elam, carrying with him the Assyrians as prisoners. Indabigas, king of Elam, sent to Assurbanipal, desiring to make peace, but the Assyrian monarch sent back word demanding the surrender of Nebobelzikri and the Assyrians who were in Elam, and threatened to invade Elam if they were refused. Assurbanipal afterwards dispatched an envoy to Elam on this errand, and on reaching the frontier the Assyrian messenger heard that Indabigas had been killed, and succeeded by Ummanaldas; a long diplomatic correspondence ensued between Assurbanipal and Ummanaldas respecting Nebobelzikri, who ultimately committed suicide in company with his armour bearer (see

<sup>†</sup> This is the first time in history that we know Babylon to have been besieged. At least six times previously the Assyrians had taken it without siege, and it is probable that the great extent of the city had prevented its being enclosed by a wall until the time of Esarhaddon, who fortified it about thirty years before Saulmugina's revolt.

<sup>‡</sup> We have no details of the death of Saulmugina, so that it is uncertain under what circumstances he was burned, it is possible that he set fire to his palace on the taking of Babylon; self-destruction, under such circumstances, was common in ancient times.

<sup>||</sup> Nebobelzikri is called in some copies the son, and in others the grandson of Merodach Baladan, the latter is the more correct relationship. He was probably the son of Nahidmarnduk, a younger son of Merodach Baladan, who was king of Chaldee in the time of Esarhaddon.

Part XI). Several of the facts connected with this period are indicated on omen tablets, many of these tablets embodying the judgment of the astrologers were written at the order of Assurbanipal, that he might know if the omens were favourable for the prosecution of the war against Saulmugina and his allies. At the close of these omen tablets, the circumstances in the revolt which called for the inquiries are specified, together with the dates and the statements whether the omens were favourable or not. There are many other fragments beside those translated here, and the dates extend from the eponymy of Assurduruzur to that of Bilharransadua, a period of about two years.

The following are some of the tablets referring to this part of the history, which are not translated here, K, 4796; K, 1210; K, 974; K, 824; K, 1580; K, 1095; K, 1541; K, 4275; K, 1196; K, 1030; K, 5456; K, 1249; K, 5457; K, 1610; K, 524; No. 67, 4—2, 1; K, 95; K, 84.

# PART X.

The First War with Ummanaldas, King of Elam.

#### TEXTS.

There are two good texts of this war, Cylinder A, col. v, lines 44 to 117, and an Extract from K, 2656. Beside these there is the imperfect text on K, 2833, and K, 3085, not translated here.

CYLINDER A, COLUMN V, LINES 44 TO 117.

- Sin bel uzzi ablu ris tu va a sa ri du sa Sin lord of might, eldest son and first of
- Bel ad ki umman ya zir Um -man- al das
  Bel: I gathered my army, against Ummanaldas
- □ bil it ti ya Tam-ma- ri -tu şar Elam

  I brought with me Tammaritu king of Elam,

- 49. Francisco (v. tu) niri ya nisi Hi- il -mi taken my yoke. The people of Hilmi.
- Su la ai La ḥi ra Di bi ri i na Sulai, Lahira and Dibirina,
- a na Elam nam ri ri Assur va Istar to Elam. The terror of Assur and Ishtar
- beli ya pu luḥ ti (v. tu) ṣaru ti ya

  my lords, and the fear of my kingdom
- alpi su-nu ze e ni (v. zeni) su-nu their oxen and their sheep,

- im qut (v. qu tu) niv va they struck, and took the yoke of
- saru ti ya Bit im bi i maḥ ru u my kingdom.

  Bitimbi the former
- alu şar -u ti bit duk la a ti sa Elam royal city, the fortress of Elam;
- sa Sin aḥi ir ba ṣar Assur abu abi
  which Sennacherib king of Assyria, the grandfather
- bani ya

  il la -mu-u-a ik su du va su u

  my begetter,

  my predecessor, had captured: and he the
- E la mu u alu me eḥ rit

  Elamite, a city in front of the
- Bit im bi i maḥ re e sa nam -ma

  former Bitimbi, another
- e bu (us) su va dur su u dan nin u va had built, and its wall he had strengthened, and

- u zu niv -va la is (ha) a luv su lum come out, and did not pray for alliance with
- şaru ti ya a nir qaqadi su nu ak kiş my kingdom, I felled. Their heads I cut off,
- sapti su-nu ap ru ha a na ta mar- ti their lips I tore out, and for the inspection of the
- nisi mati ya al qa a a na Assur people of my country, I brought to Assyria.
- W→ SI SIIII A H SE 68. EFF W SIII | SE III | SE

- EYN ( EYY = | Y - | + = | ( | + | E | 71. = | Y | E | Y | Y | qati va sepi bi ri -tu parzil ad di su va hand and foot in bonds of iron I placed him, and sent
- a na Assur sal e kal va abli su to Assyria. The women of the palace, and sons
- 72. FIN Y FIN ( FIN COLUMN TO SERVICE OF Teumman king of Elam; whom by
- maḥ re e ak ki ṣu qaqad ṣu it ti expedition I had cut off his head; with the
- si it ti nisi a si bu ti Bit im bi i rest of the people dwelling in Bitimbi,
- ⟨⟨ \( \) \\( \) \( \)
- Elam e ru bu is mi va Ma dak tu Elam entered; heard, and Madaktu
- alu şaru ti su u vas sir va in na bit va his royal eity he abandoned, and fled and

Bu - bi - lu in - nab - tu va me - eḥ - rit

Bubilu had fled, and against

81. - II > III - II - II - II - III - IIII - IIIII - IIII - IIIII - IIII - IIIII - IIII - IIIII - IIII - IIIII - IIII - IIIII - IIII - IIIII - IIII - IIIII - IIII - IIIII - IIII - IIIII - IIII - IIIII - IIII - IIIII - IIII - IIII

va ki-ma nuni iz-bat su-pul me ru-qu-u-ti and like the fishes took to the depths of the remote waters.

Niri ya ki - rib Su - sa - an u - se - rib sy yoke, into Shushan I caused to enter,

- e pu su us as pu ru it tah su im si va I had done to him and sent to his aid, he rejected and
- is te ni ha a limut tu a na ka sad devised evil to capture
- um -ma nisi Elam a na salat e
  thus: "The people of Elam for a spoil
- i tu ru ina pan (v. pa an)

  have turned, in the face of Assyria.

  89. ET + ET +

  ma-nu su -nu

  Assur

  Their \* \* \*
- va ir ru bu u \* \* \* ih ta nab ba tu

  has been entered(?) and they have carried away

- in ni zi ir ga ri ya lib bi
  me over my enemies; the heart of
- Y 計 II(ソ 達) I(バ 女員 声) 話 II オ く 上川 如 ( ) Tam-ma-ri tu iq zu ba ra nu u ip ru u va Tammaritu hard and perverse they broke, and

- 93. FINE A A LEY I (FIX A) FI CAN ETTE IX I
  u ba hu u qa tus su ul tu kuzzu ṣaru ti su
  took hold of his hand, from the throne of his kingdom
- 94. EX SI SIII W THE SENT WILL W THE SENT IN A id -ku-nis-suv -va u tir ru-nis-su sa-ni ya -a-nu they hurled him, and overwhelmed him, a second time
- If El IV ~ I ~ I ~ IV ~ I ~ EIV ~ IIV & ~ IIV ~ IV EIV a-ma-a-ti an-na-a-ti ina ze-ri-ih-ti lib ya these matters, in vexation [was] my heart;
- 97. Will in the sa Tam-ma-ri tu la ke-e-nu iḥ da-a which Tammaritu the younger offended.
- 98. FEII F II VA da na ni sa Ili rabati

  In the glory and power of the great Gods
- beli ya ki rib Elam a na my lords, within Elam, through its
- ta ai ar ti ya sa sul lu me e

  my return, peace and
- EY 

  Su -pa li ti pa an niri (v. ni ri) ya submission to my yoke,

u - tir - ra a - na Assur Ga - tu - du

I restored to Assyria.

Gantudu,

Ga - tu -du -ma

Gatuduma,

Da - e - ba

Na - di - ha

Nadiha,

Dur - am - na - ni Dur - am - na - ni - ma

Duramnani, Duramnanima,

Bit - im - bi - i Ma-dak - tu Su-sa-an

Bitimbi, Madaktu, Shushan,

Bu - be - e

Bube,

Te - maruduk - ṣar - an - ni

Bube,

Temaruduksaranni,

 (v. ►:|| ★| -+ | (( | ★|) 108. ►:|| | | ± | | + ± | |

 (v. Te-maruduk-ṣar-a-ni)
 Ur - da - li - ka

 Urdalika,

-≒Y = KY = YYY > FYYY > 109. -≒Y > EY = YYY = XAl - ga - ri - ga

Algariga,

Tu - u - bu

Tubu,

→ Tul - tu - u - bu

Tultubu,

Tultubu,

110. → Til → Til → Tiltubu,

Du - un - şar

Dunsar,

- Dur un da și

  Dur un da și

  Dur un da și ma

  Durundasi,

  Durundasima,
- Bu-bi-lu Şa-am-u-nu Bu-na-ki
  Bubilu, Samunu, Bunaki,
- Ha ra ha alani su nu ti ak su ud and Haraba, their cities, I captured,
- ab-bul aq-qur ina isati ak-mu Ili su-nu pulled down, destroyed, in the fire I burned; their Gods,
- nisi su-nu alpi su-nu ze e ni their people, their oxen, their
- (v. 国色国 & Y) 【 ★ ♥ 其 【 ★ ♥ ► | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★ | Y ★
- 116. ► CHE ► III ► FIE THE THE I FIN I Susi pare carriages, horses, mules,
- bat- li u -nu- tu ta ḥa zi as lu la and weapons, instruments of war, I carried off
- ドース コース Assur to Assyria.

K, 2656. Restored from Fragments of Duplicates.

- Um -man- al da și ablu At ta -mi tu

  Ummanaldas son of Attamitu,
- u si bu ina kuzu Elam Tam-ma- ri tu sat on the throne of Elam. Tammaritu
- as-su de e ni su va a lak it tah su ina ki bit for his sentence, and for going to his aid; by command of
- Assur va Nergal u zal la a bel u ti a na ku Assur and Nergal, submitted to my dominion. I am
- Assur-bani-pal lib-bu rap -su la ka zir ik ki mu

  Assurbanipal of generous heart, of defection the remover.
- ina tugul- ti Assur va Nergal Ili ti ik li ya

  In the service of Assur and Nergal the Gods my protectors
- Um -man al da și șar E lam ti ag ba a

  Ummanaldas king of Elam, I commanded
- a la ku ad ru ud Um man al da şu şar to go.

  I drove back Ummanaldas king of

- Elam la pa-an kakki ya in-na-bit

  Elam; from the face of my soldiers he fled
- EYEIIIVEIIfFF
- in nab ta iz ba ta niri ya ki rib

  fled and took my yoke, in
- Su sa an as kun su a na sar u ti Shushan I appointed him to the kingdom.
- damqatu e pu su us sa as pu ru it taḥ şu

  The benefits I had done to him and had sent to his aid, he
- in si va is te ni ha a limut -tu a na ka sad despised and devised evil, to capture
- zi i ru sa ina maḥ ri ya il la ku mighty, who in my presence march
- u sa zi zu in ni zi ir ga ri ya and exalt me over my enemies,
- i. III = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I = | I

va im - nu - u su qa - tu - u a ul - tu

and delivered him into my hand. From

kuzzu ṣaru - ti su id - ku - nis - suv - va
his royal throne they hurled him and

u - tir - ni - suv - va u - sak - ni - su - us a - na overturned him, and subdued him to

qar - rad Ili I - tak sa qati su az - ma warrior of the Gods, and Itak whose hands are powerful,

u - tak - ki - lu - ni va a - na Elam ig - bu - ni protected me, and to Elam they commanded

Here follows the second war with Ummanaldas, the same as Cylinder A, col. v, line 121 and following.

The first war with Ummanaldas appears to have had for its object the restoration of Tammaritu, the fugitive king of Elam. The principal event of the campaign was the capture of Bit-imbi; after which, Ummanaldas abandoned his capital, and fled to the mountains. Tammaritu, who was then restored to the throne, soon revolted, and was deposed by Assurbanipal; the country coming once more under the sway of Ummanaldas.

## PART XI.

The Second War with Ummanaldas.

## TEXTS.

The texts of the second war with Ummanaldas are Cylinder A, col. v, line 118 to col. vii, line 96; two Epigraphs; several Extracts from Historical Tablets; and K, 3062.

Cylinder A, Column V, Lines 118 to 125.

- Istar ad ki umman ya zir Um -man- al das Ishtar, I gathered my army, against Ummanaldas
- 121. → FINI I & II ☐ FE W FIN → FIN →

- Um -man al das sar Elam ka -sad

  Ummanaldas king of Elam, of the capture of
- Ra a si Ha ma nu is mi va pu luḥ ti

  Rasi and Hamanu heard, and fear of
- Assur va Istar a li -kut ida ai

  Assur and Ishtar going before me

## COLUMN VI.

- 2. FIII + FI FIII II FIIII II na bit a na he abandoned, and fled to
- Dur un da si

  Durundasi.

  3. II = It e e bir

  The Itite, he crossed,
- va nahr su-a- tu a- na dan-nu- ti su is kun and that river for his stronghold he fixed,
- 5. LAN EN EN EN (v. LAN IN EN) IN THE CAN WE will be to a ranged in ranks to fight me.

- 6. FIN I (IF FE) FIN EXT IK (v. II (IF) IN -II) A

  Na di tu alu ṣaru ti va (v. a di) na gi

  Naditu the royal city and its district

- alu ṣaru ti \* \* bi rit nahr ka la mu the royal city ditto, beside all the river,
- Ma-dak-tu alu ṣaru-ti \* \* Hal-te-ma-as

  Madaktu the royal city ditto,

  Haltemas
- alu ṣaru ti su ak su ud Su sa anhis royal city I captured, Shushan
- alu şaru ti su ak su ud

  his royal city I captured,

  13. \*\*|| (| \*\*| \*\*| \*\*| \*\*| \*\*| \*\*|

  Di in şar

  Dinsar,
- alu șaru ti su Bu bi lu \* \*

  his royal city, Bubilu ditto,
- Ka bi in ak (alu ṣaru ti su) \* \*

  Kabinak (his royal city) ditto.

- 16. → [ ] → [ ← → ] & ← → ] ⟨ [ ← → ] ) | ] ⟩ ]}]}]}}}}}}}}} } } } }

- alu ṣaru ti su ak su ud umman ya his royal city I captured.

  20. Yall Ell umman ya My army
- It it e a gu u u ru e mu ru

  the Itite in high flood saw, and
- ip la hu a na ni ba ar ti Istar feared the crossing. Ishtar
- a si -bat Arba- il ina sat mu si a na umman ya dwelling in Arbela, in the middle of the night to my army

- 26. Yall ≒ Yall → Yall ← Yall
- sal-mis 14 alani mu-sab saru-ti a-di peacefully. Fourteen cities royal seats, and
- alani zihruti (v. zi hi ru ti) sa ni i ba smaller cities the numbers
- Elam ka li su-nu ak su-ud ab bul

  Elam, all of them I took, I pulled down,
- aq qur ina isati ak mu a na tuli va gar mi destroyed, in the fire I burned, and to mounds and heaps

Elam me - ra -nu - us - su in - na - bit va

Elam in his bitterness fled, and

na - ge - e sa Ta - şa - ra ka - la - mu

the districts of Tasara all,

(() | --| --| | --- | --- | --- | 37. | 37. | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | 37. | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | 37. | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | 37. | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | 37. | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | 37. | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --

- ⟨→ニ┗ | - (v. ⟨ニニ) = | -||⟨ ĕ|| → || & Œ|| → [|| (v. [|| )]) ina eli mi (v. me) - iș - ri sa Ḥi- da - li (v. lu) by the boundary of Hidalu,

| Solution | Solution

a -sib lib - bi su- nu ka - mar su- nu as - kun dwelling within them, their misfortune I caused,

u - sab - bir Ili su- un u - sap - si iḥ

I broke up their Gods,

I set at liberty the

(Ilu) ka - bat - ti bel beli Ili su great Goddess of the lord of lords, his Gods,

- Istari su sa su su sa ga su nisi zihruti va rabati his Goddesses, his furniture, his goods, people small and great,

- 46. EIII II II VI ⟨I--II⟨I ~ I< ₹EII ♥ --I& ⟨ --I ⟨W ina ta ay ar ti ya sa Assur va Istar

  On my return, when Assur and Ishtar
- u sa zi zu in ni zir ga ri ya exalted me over my enemies,
- Su-sa-an ma-ha-zu rab-u mu-sab

  Shushan the great city, the seat of
- Ili su- un a sar pi sak ti su- un ak su- ud their Gods, the place of their oracle, I captured.
- - e -kal i su e ru ub u sib ina hidati

    its palaces I entered and sat with rejoicing.

- ap-te-e va bit na (v. nak) -kam-a-ti su-nu sa

  I opened also their treasure houses, of
- (\formall \formall \formal
- nu uk ku mu ki rib su un sa şarri

  treasured within them; which the kings of
- Elam mah ru ti a di şarri sa

  Elam the former, and the kings who
- a di lib bi im mi an ne e

  were to these days,

  54. 

  | Sim = | Sim
- is ku nu sa nakiru sa nam ma e li

  and made; which any other enemy beside
- ya -a si (v. ai si) qat şu la u bi lu ina lib bi

  me, his hands had not put into them,
- u -se-za- av -va sal- la -tis am nu kasap (-i)

  I brought out and as spoil I counted.

  Silver,
- huraz (-i) sa-su (-i) sa-ga (-i) sa Sumiri gold, furniture and goods, of Sumir
- (va) Akkadi va Gan dun i as ka la mu (and) Akkad and Gandunias, all that

- sa şarri Elam maḥ ru ti a di
  the kings of Elam, the former and
- [arku] su is lu lu u bi lu ki rib [latter,] had carried off and brought within
- Elam za ri ru russu u es -ma ru u Elam; bronze hammered, hard(?), and
- ib bu ni sik ti abni su qut tu a gar tu pure, precious stones beautiful and valuable,
- 62. FIY FITT IN SA SARRI Akkad

  belonging to royalty; which kings of Akkad
- maḥ ru u ti va Saul mu gi na former ones and Saulmugina,
- a na kit ri su-nu ip su ru a na Elam for their aid had paid to Elam:
- lu-bul- tu su-qut- tu și -mat șaru ti bat li garments beautiful, belonging to royalty, weapons
- qa ra bi şi -ma-nu-u nin e pis taḥaz şi -mat of war, prepared for one to make battle, suited
- qati su u -nu ti mut -tab bil tu e -kal i su to his hand, instruments furnishing his palaces,

- ka la -mu su ina eli u si bu it ti bibbu(?)

  all that within it was placed, with the food
- 68. YYY 二 對 国 国 二 ★ 国 日 井 員 ina lib bi e ku lu is tu -u ir -mu-ku ip pa-as su in the midst [which] he ate and drank, and the couch he reclined on,

- 71. 

  Sign is susi pare rabati sa horses and great mules, of which
- Assur Zik kur rat Su sa an sa ina Assyria. The tower of Shushan, which in the
- II destroyed.

  74. ★☆ ► ► ► ► ► ► ► ► ► ► ► The surface of the
- u kip pi ra gar rim (v. garrim) sa sa pi tiq
  I broke through its top, which was covered with

sa as - bu ina bu - uz - ra - a - ti sa who dwelt in the groves; whom

《到予學學問題問題》 man-ma - an la im -ma - ru ip - sit ilu - ti su - (ni) any one had not seen the image of his divinity,

77. 叶月 学 以 Su - mu - du La - ga - ma - ru Sumudu. Lagomer,

Pa- ar - ti - ki - ra Am -man- ka - si -bar Partikira. Ammankasibar,

U - du - ra - an Sa - pa - ak sa sarri and Sapak; of whom the kings Uduran

☆〈□ 単〈回 □ □ - 川〈 (v. 下川 ~ 1) 中 - 1√ ip - tal (v. ta - na) - la - ḥu Elam of Elam worship

Ilu - uș - șu - un their divinity.

80. --Y EXYY -YY& ---Y Ra - gi - ba Ragiba,

Şu - un -gur- şa - ra - a Sumugursara,

Ka - ar Karsa.

81. -- (国 兩 声 到 三〇 Ki - ir - şa -ma - as Kirsamas,

" 医以子 Su - du - nu Sudunu.

Ai - pa - ak - si - na Aipaksina,

Bi - la - la Bilala,

- Pa-ni-in-tim-ri Şi-la-ga-ra-a

  Panintimri, Silagara,
- Na ap şa a

  Napsa,

  Nabirtu and
- Ki in da kar bu

  Kindakarbu,

  Kindakarbu,

  Kindakarbu,

  Kindakarbu,

  Kindakarbu,

  Kindakarbu,

  Kindakarbu,
- u na ti su nu a di sa an ge e

  their furniture, and priests, and
- 86. (E) So a HI EI EIII EI II EI II EI III -
- Assur 32 zalam (-i) şarri

  Assyria. Thirty-two statues of kings,
- pi tiq (v. ti iq) kasap huraz eru
  fashioned of silver, gold, bronze and

- zalam Um -man- i -gas ablu Um ba da ra -a -a statue of Ummanigas son of Umbadara,
- 91. FRANCE IS tar na an hu un di zalam a statue of Istarnanhundi, a statue of
- | Y → | E| → | Y → | Y → E| → | Y → | Y → | E| → | Y → | Y → | E| → | Y → | Y → | E| → | Y → | Y → | E| → | Y → | Y → | E| → | Y → | Y → | E| → | Y → | Y → | E| → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | E| → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y → | Y
- 93. EII (EI FIIII) -- A ( -- I (W FII \*- I -- I ( -- I ( w to by command of Assur and Ishtar made submission to me,
- 94. FINAL III II A SSUR Ad-ka-a sedi

  I brought to Assyria. I broke the winged lions
- ba su u

  there were.

  96. 

  | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y |

  u na aș și ha remi

  there were.

  I removed the winged
- na at ru ti si -mat babani es re e ti
  bulls attached to the gates of the temples of
- Elam a di la ba se e u sal pit Elam, until they were not, I overturned.
- 98. -- | | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | -

- a hu u la u şar ru ina lib bi la other had not penetrated into the midst, had not
- i · kib · ba · su i · ta sun (v. si · in)

  trodden their outskirts;
- zabi taḥaz ya ki rib sun e ru bu
  my men of war into them entered,
- e-mu-ru bu- uz ra sun ik-mu-u ina isatu saw their groves, and burned [them] in the fire.
- asar zirati şarri su-nu maḥ ru ti arku i

  The high places of their kings, former and latter,
- Istar beli ya mu nir (v. nir) ri du

  Ishtar my lords, opposers of the
- sarri abi ya ab bul aq -qur u kal li kings my fathers, I pulled down, destroyed and burnt
- sam-si ner-pad-du- i su-nu al-qa-a a-na in the sun.

  Their attendants I brought to

- e -mi id ki iz pi sati me u -za am mi I placed. The wells of drinking water I dried them
- su-nu- ti ma- lak araḥ 25 immi na ge e
  up, for a journey of a month and twenty-five days the districts
- Elam u saḥ rib dabu (- u) ebiltu of Elam I laid waste, destruction, servitude
- binti sarri ninati sarri

  The daughters of kings, consorts of kings,
- a-di qi-in-ni maḥ-ri-ti va arku-ti
  and families former and latter
- sa sarri Elam ki pa a ni of the kings of Elam, the governors and
- ha za na a ti sa alani sa a tu nu citizens of those cities,
- ma- la ak su du nis rab mitpani sanuti all I had captured; the commanders of archers, prefects,

- mugil supa i nis 3 hu și i

  directors of \* \*, three horse charioteers

- ba-su-u nisi zikri va sinnis ziḥruti va rabati there was, people male and female, small and great,
- susi pare imiri horses, mules, asses,
- alpi va ze e ni e li (v. eli) salati oxen and sheep, beside much
- ma ha du as lu la a na Assur spoil, I carried off to Assyria.

## COLUMN VII.

- 1.  $\cong$  | Y  $\rightarrow$  | Y  $\rightarrow$  | Su sa an Ma dak tu

  The dust of Shushan, Madaktu,

- immi Elam a na pat gim ri sa aș pu un and a day, Elam to its utmost extent I swept;

- a gar i su imiri zin na i dassi
  his fields.

  Wild asses, serpents(?)
- u -ma am zin u gal hu u par ga nis beasts of the desert and ugalhus, safely
- u sar bi za ki rib su- un Na na a sa I caused to lay down in them. Nana, who
- 1,635 sanat an na i ta aṣ bu-su
  1,635 years had been desecrated,

- va Ili abi sa and the Gods her fathers,
  - tab-bu u su-mi a na proclaimed my name to the
- スポング 14. EMY YY Y- >- Y Y EI グーリター目 be-lut matati ta - ai - rat Ilu - ti sa tu -sat- gi - la dominion of the earth. The return of her divinity she entrusted
- 学子(以 15. 定则到了一个公车以供以 pa-nu-u a um -ma Assur-bani-pal ul -tu ki - rib to me, thus: "Assurbanipal, from the midst of
- (lim - ni - ti) Elam u -se-za an-ni va Elam(wicked), bring me out, and
- 判除多是某种军(国制)利州 科 17. 以公 u - se - rab an - ni ki - rib Bit - an - na a-mat cause me to enter into Bitanna." The will
- ki - bit Ilu - ti su-nu sa ul - tu immi ruquti commanded by their divinity, which from days remote
- 18. 州化 冬 〈 川 仝川 一川 川 川 川 美川 谷 ig - bu - u e - nin - na u - kal - li - mu they had uttered; again they spoke to
- nisi arkati later people.
- gati Ilu - ti sa rab - ti The hands of her great divinity
- 国 冷 台州(国) at - mu - uh (va) I took hold of, (and)
- mur - ra - an i - sir - tu the straight road
- (时) 国 冬川 州 ul - lu - uş lib - bi rejoicing in heart,
- 21. 连川 经平 产 连川 片 一 ta - az - ba - ta a - na she tookto

Bit - an - na ina araḥ Kiṣilivu immi 1 ki - rib

Bitanna.

In the month Kisler, the first day, into

Aruk u -se-rib si va ina Bit - hi - li - an - na

Erech I caused her to enter, and in Bithilianni

sa ta - ram - mu u - sar - mi si parak which she had delighted in,

I set her up an enduring

26. EII - (EI = IIII -- A -- I ((( -- I - I -- I -- III) -- III sa ina ki - bit Assur Sin Samas Vul Bel which by command of Assur, Sin, Shamas, Vul, Bel,

Nabu Istar sa Ninua Il sar - rat Kit-mu- ri Nebo, Ishtar of Nineveh, the divine queen of Kitmuri,

aḥ - bu - tu ri -se- e - ti a - na Ili ya I had carried away; the first part to my Gods

as - ba - [ak?] zabi mitpanu iz - a - lak

I devoted. The archers, footmen(?),

31. ETH FIN FIN FIN FIN FIN SIN 32. FIN nis um -ma-a-ni kit-kit-tu sa soldiers and camp followers(?) whom

- # 国 → 日 〈F / 本 → 貴 〈国 ► III〉 ☆ 〈二 日 【国 as lu la ul tu ki rib Elam I carried off from the midst of Elam;
- 34. FITE I FIT I F
- sanuti ya nis rabati ya gi mir my prefects, my great men, and all

- 国知る世刊国 | トー | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 知 | まu- us mur kakki Assur va Istar dan-nu- ti e -mu- ru vigour of the powerful soldiers of Assur and Ishtar had seen;
- 40. ⟨E| =||| -=|| E| =|| A| -=|| V ⟨E| =|||| --| A ⟨ ki rib Ma dak tu alu sa ina ki bit Assur va into Madaktu, the city which by command of Assur and
- Istar I had pulled down, destroyed and carried off

a - sar ki hul - (le) - e su-par Nabu-bel-zikri in a place dishonoured. Concerning Nebobelzikri,

ablu abli Maraduk-bal- iddina sa ina a - di - ya the grandson of Merodachbaladan; who against my agreement

ih - du -u iz - lu -u niri belu- ti ya sa had sinned, and thrown off the yoke of my dominion: who

sarri Elam a - na dan -nu- ti su is - ku-nu on the kings of Elam to strengthen him had relied,

it - tak - lu a - na Um -man- i -gas Tam-ma- ri - tu had trusted to Ummanigas, Tammaritu,

47. | ETT EN | STIN | 48. ETT | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100

sa e - pu - su bi - lut Elam a - mir ya who had ruled the dominion of Elam. My envoy

Su-par se-bul Nabu-bel-zikri ina ma-le - e about the surrender of Nebobelzikri, with determination

- Y ≠ III
   W ≠ III
   Y → III
- Maruduk-bal-iddina a lak a mir ya sa ki rib

  Merodachbaladan, of the journey of my envoy who into
- Elam e ru bu is me e va

  Elam had entered heard, and
- ik -ku (v. ki) tu lib ba su ir sa a na suq tu his heart was afflicted. He inclined to despair,
- na pis ta su pa -nu us -su ul i bis va his life before him he did not regard, and
- iḥ su ḥa me (v. mi) tu u tu a na longed for death; to his
- ki ze e ra -ma- ni su ig bi va um ma

  own armour-bearer he said also thus:
- ra şi ban ni ina kakki su u ki zu
  "Slay me with the sword."

  He and his armour-bearer
- su ina gir parzil sib bi su-nu ub ta te (v. ti) hu with the steel swords of their girdles pierced through

- Nabu bel zikri su a tu dabtu us ni il va that Nebobelzikri [who] benefits trampled on,
- 61. If (IF FIIFF) FIIF (IF FIII I FIII a di qaqadu ki zu su sa with the head of his armour-bearer who
- a-mir ya id-din va u -se-bi-la-as-su a-di
  my envoy he gave, and he sent it to

- ut tir va qaqad şu ak kiş ina kikur I returned, and his head I cut off; round the neck of
- Nabu -qati-za-bat mun-ma-kir Saul -mu- gi na Neboqatizabat the munmakir of Saulmugina
- ahi nak ri sa it ti su a na dak ku ri
  my rebellious brother, who with him to pass into

sa mi - iḥ - rit Um - man - al - das e - pu - su who against Ummanaldas, had ruled the

be-lut Elam na - mur - rat kakki dominion of Elam, the terror of the powerful

Assur va Istar iz - zu - ti sa edu su sanu su salsu su soldiers of Assur and Ishtar, who the first, second, and third time

id - bu - ku eli Elam iḥ - ṣu - uṣ had trampled over Elam covered him,

va ir - sa - a di - ib lib - bi

and he trusted to the goodness of my heart,

74. (=) = (1) = (1) |

ul - tu ki - rib

from the midst of

Elam in - nab-tu va iz - ba - ta niru

Elam he fled and took the yoke of

79. - III FIII I FIII II FIII I FIII I FIII FI

- 81. FII FIII FIII
- 82. FII FIW F FIW F FIW F FII W F FII

- 85. FII FIIII I FI FI FI FII I FII FII
- gar ri ya maḥ re e sa la pa-an kakki Assur my former expedition, from the face of the powerful soldiers
- 88. ⟨Y-YEY → Y ⟨W = YYY → (= YYY = ) → Y ← EFFFF > FFFY → EFFY → EFFY → FFFY → FFYY → FFFY → FFYY → FFFY → FFY → FFFY → FFY → FFFY → FFY → FFFY → FFY → FFFY → FFFY → FFFY → FFFY → FFFY → FFFY → FFY
- 89. = | = | \(\times \) \(\t

- 90. FIN FIND WIN FELL FELL FIND Sa al al ri

  those people who on Saladri
- 91. \*\* (v. \(\mathbf{v}\) = \(\mathbf{I}\) = \(\mathbf{I}
- 92. | (| (v. | | (v. | | (v. | (v. | (w. |
- mar ki ti su un in -nab-tu niv -va iz ba tu of their refuge they fled and took
- niri ya a- na mitpanu ak zur su-nu- ti e li my yoke; to the bow I appointed them, over
- ki zir şaru (u) ti ya sa u mal lu u

  the body of my kingdom which filled
- EYY (v. → Y EY) 〈 YY = YYY = YY 〈Y + qatu (v. qa tu) u a u rad di my hand I spread.

EXTRACT FROM K, 1364.

- In da bi-gas ardu su in -nab-tu va iz ba ta niru

  Indabigas his servant fled, and took the yoke
- Na na a ul tu ki rib Su sa an a na

  Nana from the midst of Shushan to
- Aruk a [di Elam] d. YY  $\rightarrow$  Y  $\rightarrow$
- Um -man- al da și șar Elam as-pur su va
  Ummanaldas king of Elam I sent him, and
- ablu sar Ili kap-ti sa lab-bu-u nam-ri-ri son of the king of the Gods, mighty, clothed with terror,
- mu sab saru ti su- un, &c.

  seats of their royalty, &c. See Cyl. A, col. VI, line 27.

EPIGRAPH OVER WARRIORS DESTROYING A CITY, AND CARRYING OFF SPOIL.

al - mi aksud as - lu - la sal-lat șu ab - bul aq - qur I besieged, I captured, I carried off its spoil, I pulled down, destroyed,

→ ► ★ → → ★ ina isati ak - mu and in the fire I burned.

EPIGRAPH OVER KING RECEIVING PRISONERS AND SPOIL.

- alu sa Elam al [mi] ak [su ud] a city of Elam, I besieged, I captured,
- ruqubi zu um bi susi

  war chariots, horses and

am - [nu] counted.

K, 3404, Variant Passage for Cylinder A, Column VII, Lines 19 to 27.

a. ► II EM I FIII FIII FIII EM [-I \ I - E E I \]

Dur - un - da - și alu șaru - [ti su ak - su - ud]

Durundasi, his royal city, I captured.

b. Y-II Y- YY Y- (FIX FIY) F IEII # -- Y (Y- SERENT STATE ST

c. — Y I — I EI = II & EE II W — EII I — & c. ina immi su va e - bir nahr 14 alani, &c. In those days, across the river, fourteen cities, &c.

## K, 3062.

- iz ba] tu e pu -su ardu u ti [ul tu took, doing homage to me; [from the
- f. [Fix A Fix A Fi
- g. [\(\begin{aligned}
  \begin{aligned}
  g. [\begin{aligned}
  g. [\begin{ali
- bani ya [e bu] -su zi lu u pu su sa my begetter, he had made war. His mouth, which
- is ni iz zu ak kiş şapti su sa \* \* \* \* , I cut off; his lips, which
- ig ba a mi ri ih tu ap ru uh qati su spoke defiance, I tore out; his hands
- mit hu zi
  fight

  Assyria.

  n. | | I | E | E | |
  a na da la li
  For the exalting of

ta - us - ti Assur va Istar Ili
the will of Assur and Ishtar, the Gods

# \* \* \* \* \* sa ki - [rib] \* \* \* \* \* which is in [Nineveh?].

EXTRACT FROM DISPATCH OF OFFICER TO KING. K, 10.

b. \( \sum \) \( \sum

Ha-ai-da-nu it-ti su it-ta-si iz-zu

Haidanu with him he raised, strongly.

Image: Simple of the content of th

- u paḥ ḥir a du u ina eli nahr a na gathered.

  Now across the river in

- k. W → Y ← F Y ← F Y Y ← F F X X → F F X X ↓ ha ri iş ina e kal lis ha al su testifies; in the palace may he inquire of him.
  - K, 2664 AND K, 3101. VARIANT FOR CYLINDER A, COLUMN VI, LINE 43, TO COLUMN VII, LINE 19.
    - a. \\\\ \otimes \otint \otimes \otime
- c. FIII FIIII d. FIII FE & FEII FEII dab u ebiltu hasasu

  I laid waste, destruction, servitude and drought

- h. EIII : i. EII [i · ku tu · si · bu had been desecrated, had gone, and dwelt

- k. → EY → → Y → Y ★ ★ 〈 YY ↓ l. YY → → Y ← Y ➤ YY tu -sat- gi la pa-nu-u a a-mat Ilu- ti sa sa she entrusted to me. The will of her divinity, which
- Ul tu immi ruquti tag bu -u e nin na from days remote she had uttered; again
- tu kal li ma nisi arkuti qati
  she spoke to later people. The hands of
- Na na a Uzur amat şa (v. U zur -a-mat- şa)

  Nana, Uzuramatsa
- at mu uh va, &c. I took hold of, and, &c.

EXTRACT FROM K, 2631.

- sa ni is Ili rabati la [ip lu ḥu va] who the worship of the great Gods did not [fear],

- sa ina sa-ne.- e de e -mi a-na e -muq ra -ma- ni who in an evil resolve to his own force
- Image: Simple structureImage: Simple
- Akkad qat şu id -du- u va u -sal-pi tu

  Akkad his hands he had laid, and he oppressed
- Akkad \* \* \* \* immi im lu u

  Akkad [Nana he carried off(?)], the days were full,
- uk ki pa a dan nu Ili rabati ip se te e extinguished(?) was power, and the great Gods [these] things
- \* \* \* \* \* \* a na 2 nir 7 sus 15 sanat an na i [saw]. For two ner seven sos and fifteen years
- sapliti(?) E la mi \* \* \* \* \* \* ya a ti under the Elamites [she remained. The great Gods] of me
- Assurbanipal the prince their worshipper, to overwhelm

K, 359. LETTER FROM UMMANALDAS TO ASSURBANIPAL.

- 1. AH | FIN | K FIN FIN FIN THE CONTROL | Sar Um -man- al da și șar Elam
  From Ummanaldas king of Elam
- 3. IV THE SELVENT SELVENT STATE STAT

- 7. EXI EYY YY EX EYYY YH EYYY EYYY YA a forces do thou send, for
- Nabu bel zikri uş şi bil ka nis

  Nebobelzikri I will surrender to thee. The

Mar - te - na - ai sa ultu ris Nabu - bel - zikri

Marteni who from the first Nebobelzikri

□ - zu - ni \* \* \* ni nisi ya i - ba - as - si

fled \* \* \* \* my people being

it - taḥ - zu - u va - a nisi i - ba - as - si they urged. Now the people being

-II EIII -I(I I → 15. II ¥ I → (-EI & I → adi ta - hu - mi su-nu a - sap - par ina eli su-nu in their neighbourhood I sent against them

ardi ya sa ih - du - u - nin - ni ina my servants, who sinned against me in

18. ⟨Y-YEY| ≥ EY

va sum-ma

and when the

19. - 4111 = nahr e - tab- ru at - ta - ri \* \* ina lib - bi river they crossed, I \* in the midst 1 \* -11(1 年 - 三(1-) [三 ] 20. su-nu ri - i - ba ki -ma va ip - sat of them strife and the work sa ina eli of the servants who against \*

## DATE ON REVERSE.

→ こり まず (( W ミ ( Y → ) → ) 本 ( 本 ) → [ I ]
araḥ immi 26 lim - mu Nabu-sar ahi - [su]
Month 26th day eponym Nebosarahisu

The cause of the second war with Ummanaldas was probably the refusal of the Elamite king to deliver up the image of the Goddess Nana, which we are told (K, 1364) Assurbanipal sent to demand. This image, according to the various accounts, had been carried off by Kudur-nanhundi, an early Elamite monarch, and had remained either 1635 or 1535 years in the hands of the Elamites; and therefore the date of Kudurnanhundi must have been about B.C. 2280 or 2180. In this campaign, Assurbanipal completely conquered Elam, and destroyed the city of Shushan. It is very doubtful if the affair of Nebobelzikri, Cylinder A, col. vii, line 43, belongs in any sense to this division of the annals; for the other inscriptions mention the embassy to Elam to demand his surrender as being at the beginning of the reign of Ummanaldas. The letter of Ummanaldas on the subject is included in this division in illustration of Cylinder A.

The Ummanigas son of Amidirra is, I believe, the same as the Ummanigas son of Umbadara; but his revolt probably took place at the beginning of the reign of Ummanaldas.

# PART XII.

The Arabian War.

#### TEXTS.

The texts of the Arabian War are Cylinder A, col. vii, line 97, to col. ix, line 112; Cylinder B, col. vii, line 87, to col. viii, line 57; K, 2802; K, 3096; and K, 562.

CYLINDER A, COLUMN VII, LINE 97, TO COLUMN IX, LINE 112.

- 97. FE T W FIY FIY FIY FIY FEY (E) Y A IY FEY I na 9 gar ri ya ad ki umman ya In my ninth expedition I gathered my army,

- iḥ ḍu u ḍabtu e pu su us la iz zur u va had sinned; the benefits done to him he did not regard, and

- Assur e mi du us (v. su) i su du ab sa (a) ni

  Assur had set him up to perform my pleasure,
- ip ru us va ik la a ta mar ti broke off, and he ended his
- (⟨ \( \) \(
- Elam da bab şur ra a ti Akkad

  Elam was speaking sedition with Akkad,
- is mi va

  la iz zu ra a di ya

  he heard and

  disregarded my agreement.
- ya a ti Assur-bani-pal sar sangu ellu re e su Of me Assurbanipal, the king, the noble priest, the
- mud nin -nu-u bi -nu tu qati Assur u -vas sir powerful leader, the work of the hands of Assur, he left
- an ni va a na A bi ya te eh Ai -mu abli me, and to Abiyateh and Aimu, sons of
- Te- ha ri e-mu- ki it ti su-nu- ti a- na Tehari, his forces with them to

2 L

小八 李康 小八 ri - zu - ti the help of

111. 1 -- 1 日 - 6 谷 - 11位 - 1 Saul - mu - gi - na Saulmuaina

aḥi nak - ri is - pur va is - ta - kan pi - i su set his face. my rebellious brother he sent, and

nisi A- ri - bi The people of Arabia

it - ti su u - sam - kir with him he caused to revolt.

va ih - ta -nab- ba - ta and carried away the

hu - bu - ut nisi plunder of the people

sa Assur Istar va Ili rabati whom Assur, Ishtar, and the great Gods

id -din- u - ni had given me,

riu - si - na e - pi -su va u - mal - lu - u their government I had ruled, and they were in

117. - ⟨E| = | | > → | ⟨W| ina ki - bit Assur va Istar qa - tu - u a By command of Assur and Ishtar my hand.

umman ya ina gi - ra - a my army in the region of

A-za- ar - an Azaran,

Ḥi- ra - ta -a-qa-za- ai ina U - du - mi ina Edom, in the Hiratagaza, in

ni - rib Ya - ab - ru - du ina Bit - am -ma-ni neighbourhood of Yabrud, Beth Ammon, in

- ina na ge e sa Ḥa- u ri na ina in the district of the Hauran, in
- Mu ha a ba ina Sa ha ar ri

  Moab, in Saharri,
- 大川 文庫 二 学 Zu - bi - te Zobah.

## COLUMN VIII.

- 1. (IF IS EIII I E A-- E I I E III I E III -
- su it bu-u-ni u ra (aṣ-) ṣib ina kakki
  him came, I destroyed with the sword;
- va su u la pa an kakki Assur dan nu ti and he from the face of the powerful soldiers of Assur,
- ip-par-sid va in na bit a na ru ke e ti

  fled and got away to a distance.

- bit zin zir ta ra ti mu sa bi su nu

  The tents, the pavilions, their dwellings,
- kamu u sa hi iz zu ik mu ina isati a fire they raised, and burned in the flames.
- 8.  $\geq |V| |V| = |V$
- 10. EII | FIII | III | A-- | FF | A-- | AH | EII | sa U ai te eh ablu Bir vul [sa of Vaiteh son of Birvul, who
- ra] -man su is -ku -nu a na saru ti A ri bi

  himself appointed to the kingdom of Arabia;
- 12. -- Assur sar [Ili] sad- u rabu- u de [e-mu]

  Assur king of the Gods the strong and mighty, a decree
- 13. FIIIF W -- FI FI FI FI FI FI II FI II (III li] ka a di repeated, and he came to
- maḥ ri ya a na kul lu ta us ti Assur my presence.

  To satisfy the law of Assur

- iz-bat şu va si ga ru as kun su va took him, and in chains I placed him, and
- it ti a şi kalbi ar ku bu su su va with asi and dogs I bound him, and
- u sa an zir su babi rabi qabal Ninua caused him to be kept in the great gate in the midst of Nineveh
- Ni-rib bar- nak ti ad na -a ti va su u

  Nirib-barnakti-adnati

  And he
- Am -mu- la di ṣar Ki id ri it tu bil

  Ammuladi king of Kedar, brought
- a na mit- hu (uz) zi şarri Ḥatti
  to fight the kings of Syria,
- pa-nu-u a ina tugul- ti Assur Sin Samas Vul to me. In the service of Assur, Sin, Shamas, Vul,
- Bel Nabu Istar sa Ninua Il sar rat

  Bel, Nebo, Ishtar of Nineveh the divine queen of

- Kit-mu- ri

  Kitmuri,

  24. --| \( \mathbb{W} \) \( \mathbb{E} \) \( \mathbb
- Nusku abikta su as kun sa a su his overthrow I accomplished. Himself
- bal du uṣ ṣu it ti [A di ya a] allat alive with [Adiya] the wife of

- Ili rabati beli ya ul li kalbi of the great Gods my lords, with the dogs
- 29. 

  | You have as kun su va u sa an zir su si ga ru
  | I placed him, and I caused him to be kept chained.
- 30. (E) FINY -- A -- W (W ( -- Y -- E) Y -- X Y -- EY ina ki bit Assur Istar va Ili rabati beli ya By command of Assur, Ishtar, and the great Gods my lords,
- 31. Will it is a A-bi-ya-te-eh Ai-mu abli Te-he-ri of Abiyateh and Aimu sons of Tehari,

ahi nak - ri a - na e - rib Bab - ili

my rebellious brother to enter Babylon

il - li -ku ri - ze - e su a-duk abikta su went; his helpers I slew, his overthrow

Bab - ili e - ru - bu ina şu - un - ki
Babylon entered, in want and

hu - suḥ - ḥi e - ku - lu ṣeri a- ḥa- mis a- na hunger eat the flesh of each other.

Bab - ili u - zu - niv - va

Babylon they came out, and

e-mu-ki ya sa ina eli Saul -mu-gi -na
my forces which around Saulmugina

- 39. ► | | ★ ♥ ★ (► E| V) | Y ★ ( Y ( Y X ) E| Y ★ E| sak nu sa ni (ya) a nu abikta su is ku nu va were placed, a second time his overthrow accomplished; and
- 40. EX FYYY FYYY EY YY FYYY EY YY FYY EAR Su u e dis ip -par- sid va a na su zu ub

  he alone fled, and to save

- napis ti su iz ba tu niri ya re e mu his life took my yoke. Favour
- ar si su va a de e ni is Ili rabati

  I granted him and an agreement to worship the great Gods
- u -sa az kir su va ku um U ai te eh

  I caused him to swear, and instead of Vaiteh
- ina \* \* a na saru (u) ti A ri bi or anyone, to the kingdom of Arabia
- Na ba ai ta ai pi i su is kun Nabateans his face set,
- va ni is Ili rabati la ip luh va and the worship of the great Gods did not fear, and
- ih ta -nab- ba ta hu bu ut mi sir mati ya carried away the plunder of the border of my country.
- ina tugul- ti Assur Sin Samas Vul Bel Nabu In the service of Assur, Sin, Shamas, Vul, Bel, Nebo,

- 51. | TIEF TENT TO THE SALE AS A SALE SALE WAS A SALE W
- ru u qu sa U ai te eh a na remote, of whom, Vaiteh to
- mah ri su in nab-tu (v. ta)

  his presence (had) fled;

  53. 

  | Y | Y = | Y | E |

  is -me- e va

  heard also
- da na an Assur sa u tag gil an (v. a) ni of the power of Assur who protected me:
- 54. EIVEV (v. -V) = V EV V -V EXT V --- EV V --- EV V --- EV Sa ma-te (v. ti) e ma a na sarri abi ya who in time past to the kings my fathers,
- a-mir su la is -pu ra la is (ha) -a-lu his envoy did not send, and did not seek
- (v. \(\frac{1}{4}\)) 56. \(\frac{1}{4}\) \(\fr
- ba qa av -va is ha a la su lum ṣaru ti ya he tore and sought alliance with my kingdom.

- \* \* \* \* dabtu la na zir ma-mit Ili rabati

  \* \* \* benefits, disregarding the oath of the great Gods,
- da -bab şur ra -a ti it ti ya id bu ub va seditious words against me he spoke, and
- pi i su it ti Na ad ni şar Na ba ai ti his face with Nathan king of Nabatea
- is kun va e -mu- ki su-nu id ku-u- ni he set; and their forces they gathered
- a na ti ib limut a na me şir ya to commit evil against my border.
- ina ki bit Assur Sin Samas Vul Bel Nabu

  By command of Assur, Sin, Shamas, Vul, Bel, Nebo,
- Istar sa Ninua II sar rat Kit mu ri

  Ishtar of Nineveh the divine queen of Kitmuri,
- Istar sa Arba- il Ninip Nergal Nusku

  Ishtar of Arbela, Ninip, Nergal and Nusku,
- umman ya ad ki zir A bi ya te eh

  my army I gathered; against Abiyateh

- us te es se ra mur ra -nu Idikkal

  I directed the march. The Tigris

KGf.

- sal mis (v. sal -mi is) lu -u e bi ru ir du u peacefully they crossed, they marched,
- ur hi ru qu u ti e be lu e te [lu]

  a distant path they took, they ascended
- kisti sa zu lul si na rap su the forests, of which their shadow was vast,
- bi- rit izi rabati gi iz zu \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* bounded by trees great and strong, and vines (?)

  - ana nakiri Vas a sar zu um -mi dan dan ti to the rebels of Vas, a place arid and very difficult,

- na ram Is tar hi rat Bel zir the delight of Ishtar, wife of Bel; against

- araḥ Sin ablu ris te e a sa ri du sa the month of Sin the eldest son and first of
- Bel immi 25 sa da ḥu sa be lat

  Bel, the twenty-seventh day, on the festival of the lady of
- Bab ili ka bit ti Ili rabati

  Babylon, the mighty one of the great Gods.

- 86. (FIX FEI (V. FIII) FII II FI FIII II FEI FIII (V. ultu) Ha-da-at-ta-a at-tu-zir

  From Hadatta I departed;
- ina eli gu ub ba a ni sa me at ta di
  over against lakes of water; I pitched
- us -man-ni umman ya me a-na mas-ti-ti su-nu my camp.

  My army the waters for their drink
- ih bu va ir du u il li ku qaq qar desired, and they marched and went over
- zu um -mi (v. me) a sar dan dan ti a di arid ground, a place very difficult,
- Hu ra ri na bi rit Ya ar ki

  Hurarina near Yarki,
- 92. (Y-IEI) -= II II II = II -= II -= II -= III (III -= III -= IIII -= III -= IIII -= III -= IIII -= III -= IIII -= III -= IIII -= III -= IIII -= III -= III
- 93. If ELL FILLS IN SECOND (II) ELL (III) A sar u ma- am zin la ib ba (as) su u a place the beast of the desert was not in,
- 94. (I-IEII IX -- I = IX -- IX = E IX = E (v. -- IX X) IX Va izzur same la i sak kan (v. ka nu) qi nu and a bird of heaven had not fixed a nest.

- Na ba ai ta ai as kun nisi

  Nabateans I accomplished. People,
- imiri gammali va ze e ni asses, camels, and sheep,
- aḥ bu ta

  8 kas pu qaq qa ru umman ya

  I carried away.

  Eight kaspu of ground my army
- lu u it tal la ku sal dis sal mis

  marched victoriously, peacefully
  - i tu ru niv va ina Ai al li they returned, and in Aialli
  - is tu u me sar be e ultu lib (bi)
    they drank abundant waters;

    from the midst of
  - Ai al li a di Qu (ra) zi ti

    Aialli to Quraziti.

- 103. W & F I III II EL F FIII I FIII FII
- ir du u il li ku ha lu sa they marched and went The worshippers (?) of
- A-tar-ṣa-ma-ai in va Kid-ra-ai

  Adarsamain, and the Kidri
- (v. | SEE EN EN EN EN No. | No

- 109. 

  | State | Stat
- ina tugul- ti Assur va Istar beli ya ik su da in the service of Assur and Ishtar my lords my
- EIN II II A E EII → SII (I → A)

  qata ai mur ra an Di mas qa

  hands took. The road to Damascus

- u -sa-as- ki na se-pu- us-su-un araḥ Abu araḥ I caused their feet to take. In the month Ab, the month
- kakab bam bintu sin qa sit tu immi 3 of Sagittarius daughter of Sin, the archer; the third day,
- nu-be- tu sa şar Ili Maruduk ul tu the festival of the king of the Gods, Merodach, from
- Di -mas-qa at tu zir 6 kas-pu qaq-qa ru

  Damascus I departed. Six kaspu of ground
- ina mati si na ka la sa ar de e va in their country all of it I marched, and
- al lik a di Hull- hu li ti ina went to Hullhuliti. In
- | (v. な) 一(v. な) 上 (v. な) 上
- ha lu sa A bi ya te eh ablu the servants of Abiyateh son of
- Te-ha-ri

  Tehari of

  Kid-ra-ai ak-su-ud (v. sud)

  Kedar

  I captured;
- abikta su as kun as lu la sal lat șu his overthrow I accomplished, I carried off his spoil.

- qati va sepi bi ri -tu parzil ad di su-nu- ti

  Hand and foot in bonds of iron I placed them,

## COLUMN IX.

- it ti sal-lat matisu- un al qa as-su-nu- ti

  With the spoil of their country I brought them
- kakki ya in -nab- tu ib ba hu va iz ba tu

  my soldiers fled, ascended (?) and took to

Lines 7 to 25 are lost, only the following ends of eight lines remain:—

- 26. FIX I---- FIII FIX FIF FIFE I---- FIFE I FIFE I

- 29. ► III ► III ← IIII ← IIIII ← IIII ← IIII ← IIII ← IIIII ← IIIII ← IIII ← IIII ← IIII ← IIIII ← IIIII ← IIII ←
- 30. 

  | Sam-mal i kima ze e ni u -par- ri iz
  | Camels like sheep, I distributed and
- 31. \( \text{YY} = \text{YY} \( \text{\$\frac{1}{2} \cdot \text{YY}} \) \( \text{YY} \) \( \tex

- 34. 

  THE STATE OF THE STATE OF CAPTURES among the strong
- 35. 

  \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* sa pa ḥir ina ki (i) si

  \* \* \* \* \* \* which were gathered in droves,
- im da na ḥa ru gammali va
  they bartered camels and
- II
  III

  a-mi-lu-tu
  U-ai-te-eh a-di

  men.
  Vaiteh and the
- sa la pa an kakki Assur bel [ya]

  who from the face of the soldiers of Assur [my] lord,
- ip par si [du] va in nab tu ni fled and got away;

- bu bu ti nap sat su] un is sa kin va [and famine their lives] were spent, and

- Istar sa Ninua Il sar rat Kit-mu ri

  Ishtar of Nineveh, the divine queen of Kitmuri,

- is ta na ha a lū a ḥa mis um ma addressed each other thus:
- ina eli me-ne-e ki-i ip-se-tu an-ni-tu
  "Concerning the number of these evil things,
- | Assur we have not regarded;
- ni iḥ du u ina dabtu Assur-bani-pal sar and we have sinned against the benefits of Assurbanipal, the king,
- Bel i ti . ka dir ti i la a ti

  Bel, the guardian of divinity;
- sa it ti A- nu va Bel sit lu du at who with Anu and Bel in dominion

- garni sa bi ra -a te

  | listar | a si bat Arba- il
  | horns | of iron. | Ishtar dwelling in Arbela,

- Uruki qar du a nun tu ku uz zur va

  Uruki the warrior, mourning caused and
- 65. FIIIF FIII (FAW) FII FIIIF FIIIF
- 66. -- | CE | LI EIII | E EIII EIII E E EIII E E EIII E EII

- Nusku suqul na ha du mu sa bu u bel u ti

  Nusku the glorious messenger, sitting in dominion;

- 70. 黃川 → 〈国 ≒川川 → 〈A → 〉 [☆美 ≒川] ※※※ ≒川川 sa ina ki bit Assur Belat \* \* \* bit who by command of Assur and Beltis \* \* \*
- il lik va iz \* \* \* \* \* as ru sar u ti

  preceded, and \* \* \* \* \* \* place of my kingdom,
- 74. \( \text{YY} \( \text{EYY} \) \( \text{EYY} \) \( \text{FYY} \) \( \text{FY} \) \( \text{F
- Assur Istar va Ili rabati beli ya Assur, Ishtar, and the great Gods my lords,
- sa ina e [pis ta ḥa zu il li] ku

  who in making [war], went to the
- is mu u va eli [ip -se- e ti an na a ti] heard of, and over [these things]
- | E| | E| | 80. ⟨E| | E| | Na ba ai ti feared, and from [Nabatea]

- u -se]-za- av -va ina tugul- ti Assur Sin Samas Vul

  I] brought out, and in the service of Assur, Sin, Shamas, Vul,
- Bel Nabu Istar sa Ninua II sar rat Kit-mu- ri
  Bel, Nebo, Ishtar of Nineveh the divine queen of Kitmuri,
- 84. \*\* \* \* uṣ ṣu va u ra a su a na Assur \* \* \* \* him, and sent him to Assyria.
- 85. \*\* \* \* ya sa a na ka sad nakiri ya \* \* \* \* \* who to capture my enemies
- 86. \*\* \* \* aḥ -ḥa- ru ina ki bit Assur va Belat \* \* \* \* fought. By command of Assur and Beltis,

- $(v. \rightarrow E)$   $\Leftrightarrow \rightarrow HH$  (v. la ah) eni su at ta di zir ri tu his eyes I struck down.
- 90. (FIX FIY III FIX X (IX FIX 91. FIX ul li kalbi la ad di su va ina bab

  With the dogs I did not place him, in the gate

- zi it Sam si qabal Ninua sa of the rising sun, in the midst of Nineveh, which,
- Ni-rib-par-nakti-adnati

  Ni-rib-parnakti-adnati

  Ni-rib-parnakti-adnati

  Ni-rib-parnakti-adnati

  Ni-rib-parnakti-adnati

  Ni-rib-parnakti-adnati

  Ni-rib-parnakti-adnati
- 93.  $\Rightarrow \text{III} \Rightarrow \text{V} \Rightarrow \text{III} \Leftrightarrow \text{III} \Rightarrow \text{III} \Rightarrow \text{III} \Leftrightarrow \text{III} \Leftrightarrow \text{III} \Rightarrow \text{III} \Leftrightarrow \text{III} \Rightarrow \text{IIII} \Rightarrow \text{III} \Rightarrow \text{III} \Rightarrow \text{III} \Rightarrow \text{III} \Rightarrow \text{III} \Rightarrow \text{III} \Rightarrow \text{III$
- Ili rabati beli ya re e -mu ar si
  the great Gods my lords. Favour I granted
- ta ay ar ti ya U -su u sa ina

  my return Usu, which by
- a-ḥi tam- ti id da at su-bat şu ak-su-ud (v. aksud)

  the side of the sea has its place, I captured.

- na dan mat- ti su- un a duk ina lib bi nisi the gift of their country, I slew. Amongst the people
- la kan-su-ti sib- du as- kun Ili su-nu unsubmissive, chastisement I inflicted. Their Gods
- nisi su-nu as lu la a na Assur nisi and their people I carried off to Assyria. The people of
- Ak-ku-u la kan-su-ti a-nar pagri

  Akko unsubmissive, I destroyed. Their bodies
- 105.  $\Rightarrow$  ||  $\Rightarrow$
- 106. | | 一 | 一 | 本 | | 本 | | 本 | | 本 | | 本 | | 本 | | 本 | | 本 | | 本 | | 本 | | 本 | | 本 | | 本 | | 本 | | 本 | | 本 | | 本 | | 本 | | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 |
- eli umman ya ma- ha da a ti sa

  over my numerous army, which
- Te- ha ri it ti A-bi- ya te- eh aḥu su Tehari, with Abiyateh his brother

- i zi zu va it ti umman ya e pu su taḥaz had risen, and with my army had made war.
- bal du us su ina qati az bat ina Ninua alive in hand I captured; in Nineveh
- alu bel- u ti ya ma- sak (v. masak) su as hu -ud the city of my dominion his skin I tore off.

# CYLINDER B, COLUMN VII.

- 87. | FEII (FIII &--| FE | W(W--) 88. FIII

  Ya -u ta ah ablu Ḥa-za-il şar

  Yautah son of Hazael king of
- Qi id ri e pis ardu- ti ya as -su Ili su Kedar, made submission to me; for his Gods,
- sa abu ba -nu -u a is lu lu im har an ni va which the father my beyetter had carried off, he prayed me, and
- 90. FINE FILL SUM III rabati submitted to my kingdom. The names of the great Gods

u - tir va a-din su ar - ka -nu ina a- di - ya I restored and gave him.

Afterwards against my agreement

ih - di va da - ab - ti la iz - zur va iz - la - a benefits did not regard, and threw off

sul -mi ya sepu su ip - ru - uș va ik - la -a my alliance his feet broke off, and he discontinued

ta - mar - ti
the presents.

97. FYYY | FINAL STATE |

18 - IV - IVY | FINAL STATE |

18 - IVY - IVY | FINAL STATE |

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zi - ru - us - su against him;

### COLUMN VIII.

- abikta su-nu is ku nu nisi A ri bi
  his overthrow they accomplished. The people of Arabia,

- ze e ni imiri gam -mal i a -mi lu tu sheep, asses, camels and men,
- is lu lu u ni ina la mi ni si hi ip matu they carried off without number. The sweeping of all the
- ka la mu a na și hir ti su country, through its extent
- 8. FIN FIN (F) FX FIN FINF II FINF II FINF II FINF W

  um da (na) al lu u a na pat gim ri sa

  they collected through the whole of it.
- 9. 

  | State |

- 11. 2 2 = 1
- ni id ni nakmi(?) ina \* \* ha-be-e \* \* \* hir the sale of captives among \* \* the strong \* gathered(?)
- ina ki i si im da na -ḥa- ru gammali
  in droves, they bartered camels
- va
   a -mi- lu tu
   \* \* \* \* \* \*
   \* \* \* \* \* \*

   and
   men
   \* \* \* \* \* \* the Arabians
- who from the face of my soldiers

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- u sam kit Ninip qar du su un [ki

  Ninip the warrior destroyed.

  18. >=\|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| = \|\| =
- bu bu ti nap sat su] un is sa kin va a na famine] their [life] was passed, and for
- bu ri [su-nu e ku] lu șeri mari su- un their food they eat the flesh of their children

im - har su va
e -dis- si su in - na - bit a- na
happened to him, and
alone he fled to

Te-he-ri a-na Ninua il-lik-av-va
Teheri, to Nineveh came and

ardu - ti ya it - ti su as - kun ku - um submission to me with him I made; instead of

Ya - u - ta - ah ina aiumma as - kun su ana ṣar - u - ti
Yautah or any one, I appointed him to the kingdom.

gam -mal - i imiri bit - ridu - ti camels . and stallion asses,

- zir us su
  upon him.

  31. | Am mu la di (in) sar
  Ammuladin king of
- ih ta nab ba tu hu bu ut sarri and carried away the plunder of the kings of
- Hatti ina tugul ti Assur Sin Samas Syria; In the service of Assur, Sin, Shamas,
- Vul
   Bel
   Nabu
   Istar
   sa
   Ninua
   Il

   Vul,
   Bel,
   Nebo,
   Ishtar
   of
   Nineveh the divine
- sar rat Kit -mu- ri
  queen of Kitmuri,

  35. --| (W E| = --| (E| --| + --| (E| ---| + --| + --| + --| (E| ---| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --| + --|
- Nergal Nusku ina zi kar sumi [ya sa] Assur Nergal and Nusku; by the power of [my] name [which] Assur
- u sar bu -u

  ka [ma] az hal ta a sar

  had magnified,

  Kamazhalta(?) king of
- Ma- ha a- ab ardu da gil [pa ni ya] ina

  Moab, a tributary dependent on me, in the

taḥaz zin is - ku- na abikta su Am-mu- la - di - (in)
battle field accomplished his overthrow.

Ammuladin

si - it - ti nisi su sa la pa-an da \* \* \* \* and the rest of his people, who from the face of \* \* \* \*

parzil id - di va a - na Ninua a - di iron he placed, and to Ninereh to

Na - ba - ai - ti sa a - sar su ru - u - qu

Nabatea, whose place is remote,

is - ma - a da - na - an Assur Maruduk sa heard of the power of Assur and Merodach, who

u - tag - gil - u in - ni sa ma - ti - ma a - na protect me: who in times past to the

sarri abi ya a-mir su la is - pu - ra kings my fathers his envoy did not send,

- ya -a- ti a-mir su sa sul -mi is -pu rav -va to me his envoy for alliance he sent; and
- su -lum-me- e e pis ardu- ti ya u -za- na al la a alliance, and make submission to me, he submitted to
- pa ni ya damqati eli su as kun
  before me favours on him conferred,
- belat man da at tu san ti sam ma

  taxes and tribute for every year
- u kin zir us -su
  I fixed upon him.
  - K, 2802, COLUMN II. VARIANT PASSAGE FOR CYLINDER B, COLUMN VIII, LINES 31 TO 52.
    - Am mu la di in sar Qa ad ri

      Ammuladin king of Kedar,
- b. 對 (国 對 Ψ II I F -I(本 (国 到 ... sa ki ma sa a su va ik ki ru who like him also revolted;

- ardi da gil pa- ni ya sa tu sak ni sa the tributaries dependent on me, whom thou hast subdued
- a na niri ya ina zi kar sumi ya sa Assur to my yoke.

  By the power of my name which Assur
- u sar bu u

  Am mu la di in și it ti

  had magnified,

  Ammuladin and the rest of
- nisi su sa la pa-an da \* \* \* \* nab- tu-u-ni his people, who from the face of the \* \* \* \* fled,
- ad di su va u ra a a na Assur I placed him, and sent to Assyria.
- A- di ya sar rat A- ri bi di ik ta

  Adiya queen of Arabia, [her] numerous
- ina isati ak-mu sa-a-sa bal-du-uș-șa ina in the fire I burned, her alive in

qati az -bat it - ti ḥu - bu - ut [A- ri - bi as] - si hand I captured, and with the spoil of [Arabia] I carried

a - na Assur Na - ad - nu ṣar Na - ba - ai - ti to Assyria. Nathan king of Nabatea,

da - na - an Assur sa u - tag - gil an - ni sa the power of Assur who protected me: who

a-mir su la is -pu - ru la is -a-lu su-lum his envoy did not send, and did not seek alliance

saru - ti su- un ul - tu U - ai - te - eh sar with their kingdom.

On Vaiteh king of

A- ri - bi de - en su tu - sa - an - nu tag - bu - u

Arabia, his sentence thou didst pronounce, thou didst

sa - pa - ah mati su a - na Na - ba - ai - ti command to waste his country. To Nabatea

in - nab-tu il - li - ku ma- har Na - ad - nu he fled, and came before Nathan.

# uu. 了一片三十八十二十二十二十二 ab. (国下五

Na - ad -nu a - na U - ai - te - eh ki -a- am Nathan to Vaiteh even

ig - bi su va um -ma a - na - ku ina qati Assur said, to him thus: "I in the hands of Assyria

ul - te - zi - i - bi

am fast bound,

and thou reliest on

va ir -sa -a a - na suq - tu a - mir - i su a - na and inclined to despair; his envoys to

> K, 2802, Column III. Variant for Cylinder A, Column VIII, Lines 70 to 82.

ar - di ur - hi [ru - qu - u - ti e - bil]

I marched, a [distant] path [I took],

b.  $\Rightarrow |V| \Rightarrow |V| \Rightarrow$ 

- si na rap su bi rit izi rabati gi iz zu was vast, bounded by trees great and strong,
- g.  $\leq |V| \approx |V| \approx$
- dan dan ti sa iz zur same imiri zini
  very difficult, where the birds of heaven and wild asses
- qaq-qa-ru ultu Ninua alu na-ram Is -tar of ground from Nineveh, the city the delight of Ishtar

EXTRACT FROM K, 2802, COLUMN III. VARIANT FOR CYLINDER A, COLUMN VIII, LINES 95 TO 97.

a. ( | F - | ( | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F - | F

b. First FI EII -- III -- III EIII c. (I-III halu(?) A-tar-sa-ma-ai-in va

the servants of Adarsamain, and the

Na - ba - ai - ta - ai i - du - ku nisi, &c.

Nabateans they slew. People, &c.

EPIGRAPHS ON K, 3096.

f. A - di - ya -a şar - rat A - ri - bi di - ik - ta

Adiya queen of Arabia, her numerous

ina isati ak - mu sa - a - sa bal - [du - us - sa fire I burned, her alive

- EYYY ₹¼₩ ~]
ina qati az -bat
in hand I captured.

(At the bottom of the tablet occurs the following notice of the place of these Epigraphs.)

sa ina eli iguri sa Bit - sa \* \* \* \* which were upon the chamber-walls of Bitsa \* \* \*

K, 562.

1. If A - na sar matati be - eli ya arad ka

To the king of the earth, my lord, thy servant

- Y → Y Y → Y Y → Y Y → Bel zikir esir Bel va Maruduk immi

  \*\*Belzikiresir\*\*

  \*\*Bel va Maruduk immi

  \*\*Belzikiresir\*\*

  \*\*Bel and Merodach, length\*\*
- araku sanat an na i da ra a ti of days, years everlasting,
- sar matati be-eli ya lit-ki-nu a-na eli sa king of the earth, my lord, may they establish. Concerning that of
- sar be-eli a de e mi is kun an ni which the king my lord gave directions to me
- 10. ► III E ► III W FIFT (I--III II = 11. E E I um -ma de em sa Ar -a-bi ma-la thus: "The news of the Arabians, all
- ta sim mu u sapra a lak ti si i thou hearest, send the account of it."
- 13. (FIX FE) FITT FIT FIT APPLY 14. (IE) FE
  ul tu Ni ba ha a ti ki i

  From the Nabateans there is
- hir -za -a Ai ka -ma ru ablu su sa news; Aikamaru son of
- Am mi ha ta ah

  Ammihatah

  Vas- ha ai a na

  the Vasite,

eli su-nu ki - i it - bu - u zabi id - duk against them had come; the men he slew

va iḥ - ta -bat edu ina lib-bi su-nu ki - i and plundered. One in the midst of them then

u - se - zi - bu a - na lib - bi alu sa ṣar they saved; to the midst of the city of the king

22.  $E \subseteq I \subseteq I$  23.  $V \cap E \subseteq I \cap I$  al -tap-ras-su sar sa pi - i su lis-me of his mouth may he hear.

The events recorded in this division of the reign of Assurbanipal stretch over a considerable time. In Cylinder B we are told that the father of Assurbanipal had carried off the Gods of the Arabian monarch, and that Yauteh, or Vaiteh, king of Arabia, came to Assurbanipal and asked for the restoration of these idols. A precisely similar story is related in the annals of Esarhaddon, the father of Assurbanipal; and I am of opinion that the compiler of Cylinder B transferred this account to Assurbanipal's reign.

the same time an Arabian chief, Ammuladin, called king of Kedar, invaded Moab in company with Adiya queen of Arabia. forces were met by Kamas (?)-halta king of Moab, a tributary of Assyria, who defeated them, and sent Ammuladin and Adiya in chains to Nineveh. Vaiteh, after these reverses, fled to Nabathea, and was delivered up to Assyria, probably by Nathan king of that country, who sent an envoy to make submission to Assurbaninal. The Arabian army which was sent to Babylon, was besieged in that city by the Assyrians; and, attempting to make a sortie, was a second time defeated and driven within the walls. Abiyateh and Aimu the Arabian generals, then submitted to Assurbanipal, and that monarch sent Abiyateh to Arabia, to take the crown as tributary of Assyria. Meanwhile, after the flight of Vaiteh, the Arabians raised to the throne his nephew, who bore the same name (Vaiteh) as himself. Vaiteh II and Abiyateh afterwards joined in alliance with Nathan king of Nabathea, and they all commenced hostilities against Assyria. To chastise them, Assurbanipal organised an expedition into Arabia. It is difficult to determine the position of the towns captured by the Assyrians in this expedition, but it is not probable that they penetrated far into the desert. Their own statement is, that they went a distance of 100 kaspu (700 English miles) from Nineveh. On the return of the army from Arabia, Assurbanipal punished the cities of Akko and Usu (on the coast of Palestine) for revolt. The dispatch, K, 562, probably belongs to a later period in the history, but it is inserted here on account of its reference to Arabia.

# PART XIII.

The Final Triumph over Elam.

#### TEXTS.

The texts of this division of the Annals are Cylinder A, col. ix, line 113, to col. x, line 21; and the Memorial Slab published in Cuneif. Inscrip., Vol. II, p. 66.

# CYLINDER A, COLUMN IX.

- Um -man- al das sar Elam

  Ummanaldas king of Elam,
- sa ul tu ul la Assur va Istar beli ya whom from of old Assur and Ishtar my lords
- ig bu u e pis ardu u ti ya ina ki bit had commanded to make submission to me; by command
- Ilu ti su nu zir ti sa la in nin nu u of their great divinity who were unchanged,
- arka nu mat ṣu eli su ip pal kit va afterwards his country against him revolted, and

- la pa-an ṣaḥ-mas-ti ardi su sa u sab -su-u from the face of the tumult of his servants which they made
- eli su e -dis- si su ip -par-sid va iz ba ta against him, alone he fled and took to the
- sadu- u ul tu sade- e bit mar ki ti su mountain.

  From the mountain, the house of his refuge,
- 121. If ELL EXIVER & (I- EXIVER 122. (EXIVER 124.)

  a sar it ta -nap-ras si du ki -ma

  the place he fled to, like

# 四四十二三十二十二十四四

ra - pa - qaq izzur a - mas - su va a rapaqaq bird I removed, and

### COLUMN X.

- 2. | A E | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A |
- 3. EII ► EII II III (EI Sa arku a ha [mis] e pu-su be lut Elam who after each other ruled the dominion of Elam;

- 6. [sar A- ri] bi sa ina ki bit Assur va Istar king of Arabia, of whom, by command of Assur and Ishtar,
- [a na] Assur ul tu a na na \* \* \* \* [to] Assyria. When to \* \* \*

- Ili rabati hi ra tu na ram ti Assur of the great Gods, beloved wife of Assur,
- e pu su [a] di Ili Bit id ki id I had made to the Gods of Bitidkid.
- su -nu ti a di bab e sir them, and to the gate of the temple
- is du du ina they dragged. On

sitti ya al-bi- in ap-pi at-ta- hi- id

my feet I made invocation, I glorified

ina puḥri umman ya sa Assur Sin Samas Vul in the assembly of my army; of Assur, Sin, Shamas, Vul,

Bel Nabu Istar sa Ninua Il şar - rat

Bel, Nebo, Ishtar of Nineveh the divine queen of

Nusku sa la kan-su - ti ya u - sak - ni - su

and Nusku, who the unsubmissive to me, subjugated

a-na niri ya ina li - i - ti va da - na -a - ni to my yoke, and in glory and power

u - sa - zi - zu in - ni zir nakiri ya established me over my enemies.

CUNEIFORM INSCRIPTIONS, Vol. II, Page 66.

1. If  $\rightarrow$   $\rightarrow$   $\rightarrow$  Belat be - lit matati a - si - bat To Beltis Goddess of the earth, dwelling in

- Bit -mas-masu Assur-bani-pal sar Assur rubu pa-luḥ sa Bitmasmasu, Assurbanipal king of Assyria, the prince her worshipper,
- 2. (E (v. ) (v.

- Um -man- al das sa arku Te um -man epusu and Ummanaldas, who after Teumman ruled

- sa da di (v. sadadi) ru du șaru- ti ya azbat (v. az -bat) chariot, my royal carriage, I fastened
- su -nu ti va ina zik ri sa kab ti ina kul-lat matati them. And in her grand might, in all countries

- (v. \(\frac{1}{2}\)\)
  (v. matati)

  6. \(\frac{1}{2}\) (\frac{1}{2}\) \(\frac{1}{2}\) \(\frac{1}\) \(\frac{1}{2}\) \(\frac{1}{2

- - kiṣal (v. (E) &) I | Y | Y | E| E| | Y | 8. EXY (E) kiṣal (v. ki -ṣal) su-a tu pan ma ṣar si uk ki

    That altar before its sanctuary(?) I placed.
  - (v. ►□)
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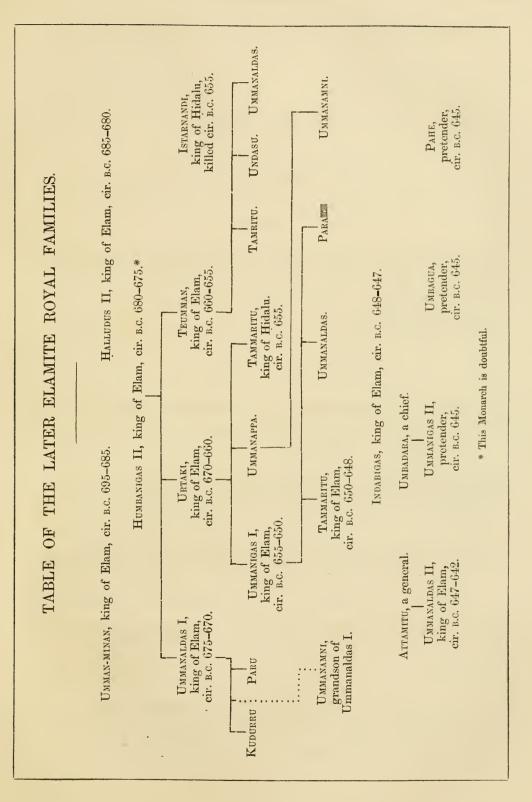
  - ba-laḍ (v. balaḍ) im mi (v. immi) araki ḍabu [give] health, long days, and sound
  - lib bi ki bi is va ittaliku Bit -mas-masu heart, worshipping and going to Bitmasmasu,
  - lu lab bi ra sepa ai . may my feet grow old.

The principal political event mentioned in this division is the capture of Ummanaldas king of Elam. After the destruction of Shushan, Ummanaldas remained a fugitive in the mountains, while Assurbanipal held possession of the country. He ultimately fell into the hands of the Assyrians, and was sent to Nineveh, at which place Tammaritu and Pahe his rivals, and Vaiteh king of Arabia, were then in captivity. According to Cylinder A\* these four captive kings were fastened to the yoke of the royal chariot, and drew Assurbanipal to the gate of the temple of Nineveh. Similar barbarous triumphs are related of other conquerors of antiquity.

I have supposed, from a fragment of an unpublished tablet, that Assurbanipal afterwards restored Ummanaldas, and that the Elamite monarch revolted, and was again conquered by Assurbanipal; but this is very doubtful.

As this division closes the campaigns of Assurbanipal, I here give a table of the later royal families of Elam, so far as we know them from the inscriptions.

<sup>\*</sup> The Memorial Slab gives the four Elamite kings, Ummanigas, Tammaritu, Pahe and Ummanaldas, as the captives who were yoked to the chariot; but Ummanigas had been dead some years, so that Cylinder A must be more correct, in giving Tammaritu, Pahe and Ummanaldas the Elamites, and Vaiteh the Arabian.



# PART XIV.

The Buildings of Assurbanipal.

#### TEXTS.

The most perfect texts relating to Assurbanipal's buildings are Cylinder A, col. x, lines 31 to 110, and an Extract from col. x, Cylinder D. There are several other texts, but they are in a very mutilated condition.

# CYLINDER A, COLUMN 10.

- Ninua] [alu] zi i ru na ram Is -tar Nineveh, the grand city, the delight of Ishtar;

- a na ku Assur-bani-pal [sar] rab u sar dan nu I, Assurbanipal, the great king, the powerful king,
- arba- te as-su ki rib Bit [rid -u- ti] su-a- tu regions, within that Bitriduti
- | Assur | Sin | Samas | Vul | Bel | Grew | Up. | Assur, | Sin, | Shamas, | Vul, | Bel, | Shamas, | Vul, | Bel, | Shamas, | Sin, | Shamas, | Si
- Nabu Istar sa Ninua II sar rat Kit mu ri

  Nebo, Ishtar of Nineveh the divine queen of Kitmuri,
- 41. -- | 〈W W 苯 -- | 〈国 -- | 十 -- | 〈三 | | -- | 井 国 Istar sa Arba il Ninip Nergal Nusku Ishtar of Arbela, Ninip, Nergal and Nusku,

- eli ya [is -ku-nu] ultu ina kuzzu abi bani ya over me [fixed], when on the throne of the father my begetter

```
u - si - bu i - te - ni - ib - bu - su * *
           They were made(?)
 I sat.
                              and
=YYY Y >>>> <del>YYYY</del> Y>>>> 47.
                     ※ ~ W (/丼 ≥/\
                       pu - ha - de - e
 nisi rapsati
  many people
qa - ti ya
                      u - pa- sa *
            my hands
                       * * *
是新军(国州) 49. - 国门) K (下长) K
 in ni ki-rib su ina ma-ha-al mu-si * *
  me within it. In all the night * *
ina sa se e - ri - ba nu- u
      * * va
             in * * * * * * * *
     * * my
坐( ) 51. 十三川国国川内や企業業業 [ 国
ru -u -a mas- ta -ku su -a -tu mu-sal * * *
          that mastaku
                    * *
Ili rabati si-mat su
(v. tu) u va
              the great Gods its account (?) have
i - sim * * * damqati
                     an - ḥu - uṣ - ṣu
heard(?) * * *
                       its
                            decay
            good,
* * * as-su ru - up - pu - us (v. su)
                        ri
                          * * * a- na
    to increase
\sin - \sin - \sin aq -qur * * * 50 whole of it I destroyed. * * * Fifty
                          ti - ip - ki
                            tipki
```

十 〒 (1- = | 1 | - | 1 | 56. ※※※ ペーー (v. 千金) \* \* \* \* pi - ti - ig (v. tig) mas-gan si - kit - ti su \* \* \* \* the work the building its sculpture

4号[N] 到时军 · 是 57. 号半叶((-))(引 ud- la [-a su u] - mal- li of the mound I completed.

la pa-an es-re-e Before the temples of

ap-luh \* \* \* ud-la-a Ili rabati beli ya Ili rabati beli ya ap-luḥ \* \* \* \* ud-la-a the great Gods my lords I worshipped. \* \* \* Of that

**三 || →三 | 59. (|- =||| [→|( ]] (=|| = ||| = ||| || || || ||** si - kit - [ti su] ul - u - sak - ki su - a - tu its sculpture(?) I did not cut down mound

[-1/\ \=\ \=\[\] ina arah dabu im-mi se-me- e [re - e - su] In a good month and a prosperous day, its top.

(v. 岁到112) 24 4 - 到[11] [11] 61. - 三] [11] (1) + (v. sime) zir ud - la [-a su - a - tu] ussi su ad - di upon that mound its foundation I placed, upon that

u - kin lab - na [-aṣ - ṣu] ina bi - ris I fixed its brickwork. In birisand

63. 以下中国 三 本国 I 財 総談談談 ka - mis pi su ab am - ha - za \* \* \* \* I divided kamis its face I \* \* \* \*

◆月營營營 64. ←月◆申号|||□||--- ☆〈□|目〈国 ina zu - um - bi - i sal-su \* \* \* \* chariots of Elam, in three(?) \* \* \* in

65. \\ - \( \big| = \( \) >-- \( \) \\ >-- \( \) \\ \\ >--- \\ \) sa ina ki - bit Ili rabati beli ya which by command of the great Gods my lords

- as lu la a na e pis Bit ridu u ti su a tu

  I carried off; to make that Bitriduti,
- 68. Exim > Y Y < | = | Y < | = | Y < | = | Y < | = | Y < | = | Y < | = | Y < | = | Y < | = | Y < | = | Y < | = | Y < | = | Y < | = | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y < | Y <
- 69.  $\Psi = \exists \langle \overrightarrow{x} \rangle \wedge \forall \overrightarrow{y} \rangle + \exists \overrightarrow{y} \rangle +$
- u zab bi tu [ina qati] a na e pis captured [in hand], to make

- hidati ri -sa -a ti ul tu [ussi su a di joy and shouting, from [its foundation to

gab - lu - bi su] its roof

ar -zip eli sa maḥ - ri I built. More than before

su

u - sar - ri - ha ip Iextended

78. = 1 ---- = 1 EXE-# -EX 1---gusuri erini zirati beams and great planks

ultu Si - ra - ra Sirara from

**连川 グ 川 彦川 彦川 79. グ 川 イ イ イ 川 川 グ - 川 川** Lab - na - na u - sat - ri - za and Lebanon, I fixed

e] - li su over it.

凯 连川 鱼 80. ドイベムトート - 三川 洋川 バーバイ 🎔 dalti li - ya - a - ri sa Doors of forest trees,

[e - ri - și-] na ḍabu mi - șir kipar their wood excellent,

a covering of copper

u - rak - kis [va] u - rat - ta - [a bab] - i su I spread over, and hung in its gates.

tim -mi zirati eru \* \* \* \* hi - it - ti Great columns of bronze \* \* \* \* at the sides

babi \* of the gates \* \*

Bit - rid - u - ti su-a - tu That Bitriduti,

mu - sab [şaru - ti ya] my royal seat,

※ 并Ⅲ [長端 × 株別] 85. Y × Y 河 是 × X X a - na și - ḥir - ti su the whole of it I

- kiri puluq sa ṣa-ṣa-ḥi \* \* a-na mul ta -u- ti

  Plantations choice, \* \* \* \* \* \* \* for the glory of

- aq qa a a na Ili beli ya ina hidati

  I poured out to the Gods my lords.

  90. [\(\begin{array}{c} \) \| \) \| \) \|
  With joy and
- ri -sa-a-ti u sar ri su e ru ub ki rib shouting I completed it, I entered into
- I W-II- F T FIV 92. II (v. Y) (v.
- ina sarri abli ya sa Assur va Istar a na among the kings my sons, whomever Assur and Ishtar to the
- be lut mati va nisi i nam bu u dominion of the country and people shall proclaim

- i lab bi ru (-u) va in na ḥu an ḥu uṣ ṣu old and decays, its decay he
- abu abi ya ziru da ru u sa \* \* \* \*

  my grandfather's, the remote descendant who \* \* \* \*
- le (-e) mur va kiṣal lab su us \* \* niqi akki shall see, and an altar shall raise, sacrifice and libations shall pour out,
- it ti mu şar e si dir sumi su lis kun and with the inscription written of his name shall place;
- ki -ma (v. kima) ya a ti va lis ru ku us like me also, shall establish to him
- mu şar u si dir sumi ya abi ya abu abi ya the inscription written of my name, my father's and my grandfather's,
- ib ba tu it ti mu sar i su la destroys, and with his inscription does not

를 누발 수는 나 107. -- 14 -- 1 ((( -- ) 작 -- ) 소위 -= \\\\\ i - sak - ka -nu Assur Sin Samas Vul Bel Assur, Sin, Shamas, Vul, Bel, place,

Nabu sa Ninua Il şar - rat IstarIshtar of Nineveh the divine queen of Nabu,

Kit-mu- ri Istar sa Arba - il Ninip Kitmuri. Ishtar of Arbela, Ninip.

→ | 〈三川 → | 羊 国 110. 〈| 羊 三川 ナ (v. 茶) Nergal Nusku de - e - nu (v. ni) Nergal and Nusku, a judgment

图文书三三分型、简文并为 it - ti ni - bit sumi ya li - di - nu - us equal to the renown of my name, may they pass on him.

111. 付節節 ♥ 4 / 定 112. ( ) Araḥ Nisannu immi 1 lim - mu Month Nisan, 1st day, eponym

三人とは、は、は、は、は、ないない。 Samas - da - in - an - ni sa - nat Akkadi Shamasdainani prefect of Akkad.

DATE ON ANOTHER COPY.

b. (Y- Y-Arah Ululu immi 28 lim - mi Month Elul, 28th day, eponym

Samas-da - in -a-ni sanat Bab - ili Shamasdainani prefect of Babylon.

Fragment of Column X, Cylinder D. On the Repair of the Wall of Nineveh.

- Ina im mi su va dur qabal alu sa Ninua

  In those days, the wall round the city of Nineveh,
- e-pu-su sa ina zunni daḥ du u ti ra a di had made; which by copious rains and swelling
- gab-su-u-ti sa san-ti sam-ma ina pal-ya floods, which every year in my time,
- Vul u -mad- di ra ina mati ya [tim -mi]- in Vul poured down on my country; its foundation

- u] -dan nin [tim me] -en dur su -a tu \* \* \*

  strengthened, the foundation of that wall \* \* \*

gab-lu-be-e su ar -zip u-sak-lil eli to its summit I built, I completed. Beyond

im - mi pa - ni u - dan - nin tim - me - en su the former days I strengthened its foundation, an inscription

si - dir sumi ya va ta - us - ti qar - ra - du - ti ya written of my name and an account of my victories,

- n. Fill Fill I Fi

Nusku Nergal ina matati at - tal - la - ku as - ku - nu Nusku and Nergal, in the countries I had marched through I had

da - na - nu va li - i - tu as - dur va a - na established power and glory;

I wrote, and to

Bitriduti, which was probably a name for the harem of the king, is the northern palace at Kouyunjik, from which the fragments of

Cylinder A and its duplicates were brought. Unfortunately all the texts relating to the buildings of Assurbanipal are very mutilated, and most of them are not worth publishing. Besides those given here, the two principal texts are—the first column of Cylinder C, published in a mutilated form in Cuneif. Inscrip., Vol. III, page 27 (since the publication of these fragments, I have completed a considerable part of the text from duplicates); and the last part of K, 2675, which gives the rebuilding of the temple of the moon at Harrau.

### PART XV.

Later Notices of his Reign, and Sketch of the Chronology.

The later notices of the reign of Assurbanipal are few—they are confined to some references on the later Eponym Tablets, passages on 48.7–20.119 and 48.11–4.282, and the Genealogies in the Inscriptions of his son Assur-ebil-ili-(kainni). One of the latter inscriptions is published in Cuneif. Inscrip., Vol. I, p. 8, No. 3, and another in Cuneif. Inscrip., Vol. III, p. 16, No. 2.

Only one historical point of any importance results from these fragmentary notices. It appears from 48.11–4.282, that the Assyrians still retained possession of Babylonia after the death of Assurbanipal. The chronology of the reign of Assurbanipal is imperfect, from two causes—first, the fragmentary state of that part of the eponym canon which refers to this reign; and second, because the arrangement of the historical inscriptions of Assurbanipal appears to be geographical rather than chronological. The eponym canon, which is perfect from the reign of Tugulti Ninip II to the third eponym in the reign of Assurbanipal, there breaks off, and there is more or less uncertainty about all the names and fragments below this date.

The fragments of the eponym canon belonging to the reign of Assurbanipal, are as follows:—

a. Part of Canon 1 (restored), the dates attached to these names are satisfactorily established—

\ =\\\\ \\-\\\\\\ \-,	Marlarmi,	B.C.	668.
三川   一二   一一	Gabbaru,	,,	667.
Y <b>&gt;</b> Y >  Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y	Pebitai	,,	666.

b. Part of Canon I (restored). The position and dates of these eponymes are uncertain; there were probably two names between a and b:—

Y -	Bel-nahid,	B.C.	663(?)
1 & &# (((,</th><th>Дави-sar-şin,</th><th>,,</th><th>662(?)</th></tr><tr><th>Y -=                                    </th><th>Arbailai,</th><th>,,</th><th>661(?)</th></tr><tr><th>1 ->                                    </th><th>Girzabuna,</th><th>,,</th><th>660 (?)</th></tr><tr><th>Y ≒   Y</th><th>Şilim-assur,</th><th>,,</th><th>659(?)</th></tr></tbody></table>			

c. Part of Canon III, which I should judge to extend from B.C. 657 to 648:—

「♥→」并且(,	Sa-nabu-su,	B.C.	657(?)
Y - EY - EY,	Labași,	,,	656(?)
一旦四里水	Milki-ramu,	,,	655(?)
一种意识。	Amyanu,	,,	654(?)
1 W + ===,	Assur-nazir,	,,	653(?)
Y₩ Y YY YY,	Assur-ilai,	,,	652(?)
1-平直之子,	Assur-dur-uzur,	,,	651(?)
· 外谷课1	Şagabbu,	,,	650(?)
Y -	Bel-ḥarran-sadua,	,,	649 (?)
Y -> >> > Y   Y   Y,	Aḥi-ilai,	,,	648 (?)

With Aḥi-ilai ends Canon III, and although we have more than twenty names of later eponymes, we have no means at present of arranging them in chronological order. The eponym in whose year of office Cylinder B was written probably comes next, the name is \( \)—\( \)\( \)—\( \)\( \), Bel-sunu, B.C. 647(?); and the governor of Samaria, \( \)—\( \)\( \)—\( \)\( \)\( \), Nabu-ṣar-aḥi-su, probably succeeded in B.C. 646. The eponymy of Samas-dain-ani, in which Cylinder A is dated, was probably about B.C. 640, but we cannot even conjecture the dates of the others.

Samaria in the time of Sennacherib and Esarhaddon was still ruled by kings, and the fact of an Assyrian governor and eponym

ruling at Samaria cir. B.C. 646, shows that in the interval, Samaria had been incorporated into the Assyrian empire, instead of being only under tribute.

It seems on consideration of the foregoing campaigns, that the arrangement of the narratives is rather geographical than historical; but, as we have no other guide, we must assume that the principal events happened in something like the order in which we find them recorded. The first campaign, which was directed against Tirhakah, must have taken place at or near the commencement of Assurbanipal's reign, about B.C. 668 or 667; but we have no means of fixing the date of the second expedition, which was directed against Urdamane. The third campaign, directed against Tyre, is still more doubtful, and we have no knowledge of the length of time the city was besieged. I am even inclined to think that the investment of the city was commenced by Esarhaddon when he started on his Egyptian expedition, and that the city was besieged for some years. My reasons for this opinion are founded on a fragment at the British Museum, which I think belongs to Esarhaddon, and which states that the city of Tyre was besieged on the tenth expedition of the king; it afterwards mentions that he went from Muzur (Egypt) to Milukha (Ethiopia or Upper Egypt). On the other hand, some of the events mentioned under the third expedition in Cylinder A (the revolt of Psammitichus, death of Gyges, and submission of Ardys), which are not in the earlier copies (Cylinders B and C), evidently belong to a much later period in the history. These events are out of place attached to the third campaign, because in the next campaign (the fourth expedition of Cylinder B) the conquered people were transported to Egypt, which shows that Psammitichus had not yet revolted. We have no clue to the dates of the other expeditions, until we come to the revolt of Saulmugina. According to the dated tablets this rebellion commenced in the eponymy of Assurduruzur, and continued during the eponymies of his two successors, Sagab and Bilharransadua. We have no positive evidence of the date of the close of the revolt, but it was probably crushed in the eponymy of Ahiilai. Now these four eponymes are the last names in Canon III, and probably extended from B.C. 651 to 648.

It is evident that Assurbanipal reigned for some years after the last events mentioned in his annals, but the history of this period is unknown. One of the most important points connected with the latter part of his reign is the question of the government of Babylonia. Ptolemy's Canon gives after Saosduchin or Saulmugina, Ἰσινιλαδάνου or Κινηλαδάνου, with a reign of twenty-two years. These forms are corruptions of some Assyrian name, and several conjectures have been hazarded as to their origin, but it has not hitherto been discovered, and I was in ignorance of it myself until this sheet was in the press. I now find from the tablet K, 195, that this was a name of Assurbanipal. I have long known that the later Assyrian monarchs sometimes bore two names, one instance of this custom is printed in Cuneif. Inscrip. Vol. III, p. 16, where we have | >- W = Y - Y | > Y = XY | > XY | Assur-ebil-mukin-pal, the second name of Esarhaddon; the tablet was inscribed in the reign of Sennacherib (the father of Esarhaddon), who writes as follows: "To Assur-aḥ-iddina (Esarhaddon) my son, whom afterwards Assur-ebil-mukin-pal by name I called." Another instance is the name Y ► Y ► Y, Bel-sum-iskun, or Bel-zikir-iskun; this is the second name of another late Assyrian king, either Shalmaneser or Sargon, probably the latter. In an enumeration of Assyrian monarchs Bel-zikir-iskun comes between Tiglath Pileser and Sennacherib. This custom of having two names may account for two facts, the absence of the name of Pul in our present Assyrian inscriptions, and the name of Sennacherib in Canon III, which is Assur-ahi-iriba instead of Sin-ahi-iriba.

K, 195, gives another illustration of this practice, as it records the other name of Assurbanipal, which is \( \)

being the alteration of the Assyrian n into the Greek l, a change which has been made likewise in several Babylonian names; thus the Greeks often turned the name of the god Nabu into Labo or Laby, (as in Nabonidus or Labynetus).

The following is a translation of an extract from Esarhaddon's tablet (K, 195): "Sin-inadina-pal son of Assur-aḥ-iddina, king of Assyria, whose name on this tablet is inscribed, to the Government in the earth, in the presence of thy great divinity Shamas great lord, he is proclaimed and established." The statement here that Sininadina-pal was proclaimed to the government shows him to be the same as Assurbanipal whom Esarhaddon joined with himself in the government. If Sininadinapal be the same as Assurbanipal king of Assyria, and the Isiniladanus king of Babylon of Ptolemy, then we ought to find inscriptions of Assurbanipal claiming the crown of Babylon; and accordingly we have on K, 3079, the mutilated titles of Assurbanipal as king of Babylonia; the translation is as follows: "Assurbanipal, the great king, king of nations, king of Assyria [king of the four [regions], [high priest of Bab]-ili (Babylon), [king of Sumir and Akkad (Upper and Lower Babylonia), [son of Assur]ahi-iddina, [king of nations, king] of Assyria, [son of Sin]-ahi-iriba, [king of nations, king] of Assyria." The same text probably formed the heading of Cylinder C. We have beside a regnal date of Assurbanipal on a contract tablet from the city of Warka in 20th day, 20th year of Assurbanipal."

The fact that Samas-dain-ani, prefect of Babylon, took his turn as eponym in the reign of Assurbanipal, also goes to prove the same point. The identification of Assurbanipal with the Kineladanus or Isiniladanus of Ptolemy shows us that Assurbanipal reigned forty-two years, and died in the year B.C. 626, when he was succeeded by his son \( \rightarrow = \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{2}

## NOTES, ADDITIONS, AND CORRECTIONS.

PAGE

2. The name of Assurbanipal.

I have overlooked one form of the name of Assurbanipal, namely, I have overlooked one form of the name of Assurbanipal, namely, I have a substitution of a bilingual tablet (K, 4933). This text is instructive, as it was evidently composed in the time of Assurbanipal, and shows that the Akkad form of writing was used for the composition of texts as late as the middle of the 7th century B.C.

" FIIII 🛪 < 🖂 (, Bit-riduti.

The first character in this name signifies "house," the second "phallus;" it probably meant "the harem." The first character \( \sum \) was very likely sounded E, as in Cuneif. Inscrip., Vol. II, p. 2, No. ccclxiv, and the whole name E-riduti. It was probably the palace of Evorita, in which the last king of Nineveh burnt himself.

4. Cylinder A, col. i, line 12, &c.

In this passage and several other places we have allusion to the Assyrian calendar and feasts. I have put together at the Museum a series of tablets (at present unpublished), giving a complete calendar, and in illustration of these passages, I will give a sketch of it. First, each month had a presiding deity or deities; these were:—

- Anu and Bel.

- the warrior Ninip.
- But of 110,6 Ishtar, mistress \* \* \* \*

- Tisri of Shamas, warrior of the universe.
- Month Marchesvan of the ruler of all the Gods, Mcrodach.
- warrior Nergal.
- Month Tebet of Papsukul, attendant of Anu and Ishtar.
- Month Sebat of Vul, leader of heaven and earth.
- seven great Gods.
- futher of the Gods.

Each day of the month was a festival to a particular deity or deities, and this succession of festivals was the same in each month, so that a list of the daily festivals of one month answers for all the months of the year; these festivals are as follows (I have only transcribed the names of the festivals):—

- FY Y ≥ ₩ -- YY ( YY > YY Anu and Bel.
- Y YY EFF W FYWY Y 2nd day of the Goddesses.
- ↑ ||| ミニオートE| Ψート|〈ニハート 画井井 戸 区。
  3rd day nu-be-tu of Merodach and Zirbanit.
- Y FE Y FEY FFY W → FY → GH, 4th day ud-ab-ab of Nebo.
- of Bel-esir and Belat-esir.
- SY W ≥ W -- Y &- Y -- Y & EYYY, 6th day of Vul and Sala.
- \*Y W EE Y EEY EEY W --Y E, 8th day ud-ab-ab of Nebo.
- EY W ► EY → Y → Y F → EY, 9th day of Ninip and Gula.

- of Belat-esir va Dayan.
- ↑ ( ) 章 ♥ (本) ( 本 一) ♥ → リ リー ド ( ~ ) ) 単 年 本 ( ) ), 11th day sa-lam-man-ni-ti of Urmit and Zirpanit.
- of Bel and Beltis.
- Y ⟨YYY ≥ ₩ ⟨⟨⟨ >- Y EY, 13th day of Sin the great God.
- 15th day of the lady of Bit-anna, kak-sa-rit of Sin the great God.
- ↑ ⟨₩ 幸臣 ナ ベ 芝馬 Ψ (トート ⟨ 二 宀 ) トート | 原 井 戸馬 ,
  16th day nu-be-tu of (Merodach and) Zirpanit.
- TY (W EE TY EEY EEY W -- TE, 17th day ud-ab-ab of Nebo.
- Y W E E Y W W A W A Sun.
- SY <W = E 1 3 > = | Y > Y \$\day ib-bu-u of Gula.
- Moon and Sun.
- Moon and Sun.
- and Vul.
- 25th day sa-da-hu of Bel and the lady of Babylon.
- Y (\W = YYY = YYY &= \W -- | = | YYYY | Y -- | EII,

  26th day ru-un-zun of Hea the great God.

- \*Y (\(\varpsi\) = \(\varpsi\) = \(\varpsi\) | \(\varpsi\) = \(\varpsi\) | \(\varpsi\)
- 28th day of Hea bunnu of Nergal.

20

- 5, line 15. "Kitmuri" was the name of the temple of Ishtar at Nineveh; on K, 11, there is the variant reading
- " line 20. Read "arka-nu" for "arku-nu."
- " line 24. Restoration doubtful.
- 7, line 39. I-na-ru, "they destroyed."
- ", line 40. Na-ram, "the delight."
- ,, line 35. ⟨YEY ≽YYYY, kibit, "will" or "command."

Mr. Norris, in Dict. p. 527, makes this word "honour," or "glory," and allies it with "kabtu" and "kabittu;" but "kibit" in the bilingual texts is the equivalent of the Akkad > " "to speak." It is always to be distinguished from kabtu and its allied words by the first vowel, which is "i" in kibit, and "a" in kabtu. Kibit comes from gabu, "to speak."

" line 38. </<>

The singular form of this word I now believe to be \( \sum\_{\text{in}} \), "esir," which I have always translated "temple."

8, lines 46 to 48. Very difficult passage.

It evidently indicates a year of plenty, when Assurbanipal came to the throne; I would suggest as a better reading, "fivefold (v. fourfold) the seed was fruitful in its growing, ears three times the size, the crops were excellent, the corn abundant, my mouth relates it, the growing of fruit."

9, line 5. (IEI = III w, the reading = III E III (III warra-si" is given on some unpublished bilingual fragments; it might have been inferred from a comparison of Cuneif. Inscrip., Vol. I, p. 42, line 28, and p. 46, line 52.

9, line 6. Extra EY CY FIYE means a "general" or "superior officer."

I have been in doubt as to the phonetic reading, and have given it in different places "sutsaki" and "unmati," perhaps both wrong. The places, "sak," means an "officer," and "y", "su-par," means "top or over," so that the reading may be "supar-saki," "one over the officers."

- 17, line 69. I have uniformly given the sound "murranu" to this word, but the town bearing this name was certainly "Ḥarran," and the examples given by Mr. Norris, Diet. p. 445, are in favour of "har" for the first character.
- " line 88. Doubtful passage. See p. 180, line 110.
- 23, line 117. Read "mas-gan-i" for "mas-gar-i." Heb. ເປັນຕຸ
- " line 124. "Ina a-di-ya iḥ-ḍu-u," "against my agreement sinned."
- 24, line 1. A series is a series in the form "seme" as the rendering; it is more probably "semat," as A prefixed to a root appears to indicate a form ending in a servile "t."
- ", line 6. "Mi-i-nu," "are numbered."
- 27, line 36. The following would be a better translation of this passage: "an agreement stronger than before I caused to restore, and with him I made."
- 28, line 38. Y means "feet," but the phonetic value is uncertain; my reading, "sanguti," was founded on a passage in Cuneif. Inser., Vol III, p. 15, col. i, but I now think "sitti" the correct reading.
- " line 39. "Gir parzil sibbi" indicates a "straight sword," and not a "scimitar."
- " line 47. I doubt if "Nebosezibani" was son of "Necho," but cannot suggest any other reading.
- 29, line 52. Y must here mean a "region" or "place." See a parallel passage in Layard's Insc., p. 95, line 152.
- 34, line 9. Şi-hir-ti.

This word is from the same root as pahir, the p and s frequently interchanging in Assyrian.

This passage occurs several times, and I have been very uncertain as to its meaning, principally from not knowing which of the phonetic values of ought to be adopted here. Sometimes reads "mat-ti," "of a country," and at times "san-ti," "of a year" or "yearly." My latest opinion on this subject I have given in p. 317, line d.

- 37, line 9. Substitute for for yapi;" this word is found in three forms, "yati," "yapi," and "yasi."
- 38, line 11. Read "si" for "si" in al-si-ma; it is doubtful if the "ma" belongs to this word.
- 40, line 24. Buşşurat; see Heb. בשר.
- " line 28. "Hul-lu-uq," "to cut off."
- 42. line 34. Substitute "sun" for "sun."
- " line 37. Substitute ►YYY for ►YYY in "i-na-kit-u."
- 45, line 55. FY , "simat," appears to mean anything fabricated; the root is IDD.
- 54, line 75. **\\\ \\\**

Certainly denotes a female, and is equated with the value "sin-nis," which I have here adopted.

- 59. The passage in the addition to line 88, "their mouth drank," is literally "to their mouth it drank."
- " line 89. Substitute > for > for > in "nap-sat," and read "u-gar-ri" for "u-tir-ri."
- 61, line 105. "Dazati." In a bilingual list I find Y Y Y Sas an equivalent of Y, "zalti," "battle" or "fight." I had not noticed this when I translated it "depredations."
- " line 110. Substitute Y for Y at beginning of line.
- 63, line 125. Read "ha" for "ha" in ha-dis.
- 67, line 38. Pa-an.

This word, meaning "front" and "before," is often used for "time past."

- 73, line.4. The passage in brackets has been partially erased by the writer of the inscription.
- 76, line 28. "Sitkunu subtu," "was situated the seat."
- ", line 31. YEIIE on a bilingual tablet is equated to W → Y → Y →, "sa-rad;" it is used for "paint," but in this place perhaps means "dyed garments," Heb. שרר.
- 86, line 66. Read "suqi" for "tarzi."
- 87, line 68. Substitute YEY for YEY.
- ,, line 74. "Ubna," meaning very doubtful.
- 92, line 49. Read "u-gar-ri" for "u-tir-ri."
- 103, line 49. The word "harran," "road," in most similar eases follows "azbat;" perhaps it is accidentally omitted here.

104, line 55. I have given "sanat an-na" as the reading of this group, but the "anna" may possibly be the phonetic reading of the word; if so, it would read "sanna."

> The passage from p. 104, line 58, to p. 105, line 63, present many difficulties, and the present reading can only be considered an approximation.

- Read "nam" for "num" in sa-nam-ma. 105, line 70.
- 106, line 71. on some bilingual tablets is equated with EY- JEYY EYYYE, "gal-lu-u," the name of a class of spirits or genii, generally evil ones.
- 117, line 94. Substitute Y- -YYY & =YY -YX, "mi-ri-he-e-ti," for Y- -Y<Y& =YY -Y<, "mi-mut-e-ti."
- ,, line 3. THE XX (, "sa-hu-u," appears rather to be THE XX (, "ir-hu-u." The passage from p. 118, line 5, to p. 126, line 79, is full of difficulties, and the translation in several places not to be relied on. By accident I have wrongly translated the monogram I as "zit," "rising," it is "crib," "setting;" but I doubt now if I is used here as a monogram. It is evident that my translation is wrong in lines 6 to 8, but I do not know what to propose instead.

The passage in lines 10 to 13 appears from the sense to refer to the Goddess Ishtar, but the verbs are in the third person masculine, only the pronoun W, "sa," at the end, showing the feminine.

- 125, line 65. "Kurunnu" I believe to be "wine," from "karanu," a "vine" (see note to p. 267, line 73); Assurbanipal is here told to drink it.
- 127, line 84, to p. 128, line 93. The junction of the fragmentary texts is not quite certain, and consequently there is some doubt about the reading.
- 132, line 22. "Na-ganti" I have translated "musical instruments," thinking at the time of the Heb. נְיִינְוֹת; this was a mistake, "naganti" means "treasures."
- 133, line 42. I have not recognized the true phonetic reading of this word until my work "ki-sad," and in the was completed. A bilingual gives the reading (ki-sad," and in the parallel passage Cuneif. Inse., Vol. I, p. 45, line 51, we have "ki-sa-di," the meaning is "neck."
- 135, line 57. EX. One bilingual gives TYT ~ (, "sa-ti," for the value of the character; another gives TYT ~ (, "ir-ti," which I now find to be the correct form.
  - liue 59. "Kullumi," perhaps here means "to revile."
- 140, line h. "Mitpanu," the Assyrian name of the bow, is here written phonetically instead of the usual X ( another instance occurs in Cuneif. Insc., Vol. I, p. 7, No. ix Λ.

corre

- 145, line 2. "Uz-zi," "an arrow;" see Cuneif. Insc., Vol. I, p. 42, line 57, where we have "mitpanate va uzzi," "bows and arrows."
- 153, line 22. The word "passar" is one of the most difficult in the Assyrian language.

In Cuneif. Insc., Vol. II, p. 23, l. 28, we have property of the equated with present passage; my reading "state chairs" is a mere makeshift. In K, 2562, a passage occurs which leads me to the opinion that "passur" was the name of a metal, plate, or dish; the passage is precious food eating."

- 160, line 77. Restoration and reading not quite certain.
  - ,, line 79. "Ke-e;" the translation "only" for this word is doubtful; it may mean "then."
- 164, line 114. Te-bis-u.

I have some doubt about this word, the Cylinder is fractured here.

This word, whatever its sound, evidently means "a chariot;" the first part, W, in Cuneif. Insc., Vol. II, p. 16, l. 36, is equated with 
ruk-kip-ta;" the second part, 
ruk-kip-ta;" the second part, 
ris-du-du."

- 166, line 10. אַן אַ בּבְּבְיבִי אַן אָן, zibi bird, means a "rapacious bird," Heb. אַבְיבָּי
- "ravenous bird," "bird of prey." connected with the Heb. "ravenous bird," "bird of prey."
- 167, line 21, to p. 168, line 24, is a doubtful passage; no dependence can be placed in the present translation.
  - ,, line 25. \ is shown by the bilingual tablets to be the equivalent of \ is \ in 169, line 40.
- 173. Something is lost between lines 25 and 26.
- 175, line 49. Read "a-ha-mis" for "a-ha-mis."
- 177, line 78. Last part doubtful.
- " line 81. "Kili." This is a word meaning anything fabricated; in some cases it cannot mean "a boat."
- " line 83, to p. 178, line 87. The reading is doubtful on account of the fractured state of the cylinder.

181. Omen tablet inscriptions.

The style of these inscriptions is different to the ordinary annals, and they are more difficult to translate, so that although the general sense is correct, the separate words cannot always be relied on.

183, line p, to page 184, line s.

The construction of this passage is very singular, but I think the translation is quite correct.

- 189. Proclamation. This is a difficult inscription; the translation is doubtful in several places.
- 193, line 15. The word "rugged" was accidentally omitted.
  - The phonetic reading of this monogram is given on bilingual tablets as the phonetic reading of this monogram is given on bilingual tablets as the probably denotes some epithet, the whole meaning a particular kind of reed.
  - " line 2. "Ikil pa," doubtful words.
- 206, line 49. Substitute (EY) for (EY).
- 208, line 65. "Sapti." I should have felt inclined to translate "tongues" here, but the word is clearly "lips."
- 213. A comparison of the list of towns in pp. 213, 214, 220, 241, 242, with the list in Cuneif. Insc., Vol. I, p. 40, will show many interesting variations.
- 219, line 5. The form "uk-ta-ta-zir" from "kizir" is remarkable; this conjugation is very rarely used.
- 220, line 7. ( This character means "ditto," but its sound is unknown to me.
- 227, line 75. "Susinaq."

I take the reading "Susinaq" from Cuneif. Insc., Vol. II, p. 57, line 18, and the Susian Inscriptions, lithographed by Loftus; but this reading for the characters in the present passage of Assurbanipal, although probable, is not certain.

228, line 77. "Lagamaru."

This is certainly the deity whose name enters into the proper name of Cheorlaomer.

229, line 87.

This complicated character denoted a "statue," and the reading is given in Cuneif. Insc., Vol. III, p. 70, line 52, as \frac{11}{11} \sumset \frac{1}{11} \s

- 233, line 118. "Husi" is given in a bilingual as the equivalent of "raqip," "to ride."
- ,, line 123. ► K A bilingual fragment gives ♣ ► K, sal-la-tu, as the reading of this character.

234, line 7. + -

This difficult word is the name of some wild animal; two phonetic readings are given on the tablets, and it and it and it is an are given on the tablets, and it is an are given on the tablets. I have no clue to the animal intended.

240, line 63. "Kibiri."

When I translated "kiribi," "burial," I had not noticed the excellent remarks of Mr. Norris, at the bottom of p. 532 of his Dictionary, where he proposes a similar meaning, "tomb," for this word.

- 249, line d. Substitute for for -
- 251, line 15. The meaning of the first part of this line is doubtful.
- 252. Letter from Ummanaldas to Assurbanipal.

The Assyrian copy of this letter is probably a translation from the Elamite original; it is obscure in several places, and many of the forms are unusual.

- 260, line 5. For "bit-zin," read "bit-zer;" the meaning is "desert house" or "tent."
- 261, line 15. Substitute ► III for ► II in "kap-tu."
- 262, line 28. The meaning of the word "ulli" is unknown to me.
- The meaning of this character is "anyone," or "so and so." See Mr. Fox Talbot's Glossary, Part II, p. 75. I would suggest the reading "aiumma" for this word.
- 267, line 71. ► Y X YYYY Y->->, on a bilingual tablet ► Y X YYYY, is rendered ✓ ∴ ← YYYY, "kis-ta;" the most common form is ✓ ∴ , "kis-ti."
  - " line 73. ≽Y ≦\(\( \bigs \big| \big \) \\ \\ \bigs \\ \big \

In Cuncif. Inscrip., Vol. II, p. 45, line 59, \( \) \(

- 274, line 31. Here Cyl. A gives "people of Assyria, but Cyl. B, p. 286, line 10, gives "people of Arabia."
- 275, line 33. "Bab-maḥirī."

Mr. Fox Talbot has suggested to me the meaning "market-place" for this word, from the Heb. אָרָהָר

, lines 33 to 36. This is a difficult passage.

The translation of line 34 is very doubtful. The same must be said of the parallel passage in Cylinder B.

- 280, lines 87 to 90. A difficult passage, translation doubtful.
- 281, line 96. "Usu" is probably the Hosah of Joshua, ch. xix, v. 29.

287. There are some lines wanting between lines 20 and 21.

288, line 37. First part of name very doubtful.

289, line 39. Read "zer" for "zin."

290, line 56. Substitute (Y- A) for (Y- A).

- 301, line 118. "Ṣaḥmasti" is probably connected with "ṣiḥu," "a revolt;" it is FYY Y FEY, ṣi-ḥu-mas-tu, in Cuneif. Insc., Vol. I, p. 32, l. 40, and FYY Y, ṣi-ḥi-mas-ti, in an unpublished tablet of Assurbanipal.
- 302, line 8. ("niqa," "a libation," Heb. ("); the verbal form "niqa" came to mean "to sacrifice" as well as "to pour out."
  - ,, line 11. The words "adi Ili" are doubtful, on account of a fracture.
- 305, line 7. The \(\forall \rightarrow\) at the end of this line cannot mean "her," as Mr. Norris suggests, Dict. p. 623, because it also occurs in the other version of this inscription which is dedicated to the God Nebo.
- 308, line 31, to p. 311, line 59.

  This passage is so defective that little reliance can be placed in the reading.
- 313, line 78. \(\sum \)\(\sum \)\(\sum
- 315, line 27. Read "si" for "si" in si-di.



## CHRONOLOGICAL REMARKS

ON THE HISTORY OF

# ASSURBANIPAL,

CALLED ATSO

ASSURBANI,\* AND ASNAPPAR, WRITTEN CORRUPTLY ACRAGANES,

Who reigned at Nineveh from B.C. 668 to 627; the immediate predecessor of Sardanapalus.

#### BY J. W. BOSANQUET, F.R.A.S.

THE Inscriptions of Assurbanipal, son of Esarhaddon, and grandson of Sennacherib, are of great interest to the historical inquirer, as affording accurate points of contact between Egyptian, Assyrian, Hebrew, and Lydian history, and as throwing light upon several doubtful points in the comparative chronology of these four nations.

#### I. As regards Egypt.

I come at once to the valuable discovery made by Mr. George Smith, the translator of the foregoing history, that the date of the revolt of Psammetichus I, king of Egypt, from the dominion of the Assyrians, which I assume to be equivalent to the date of his putting down the Assyrian governors set over Egypt by Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal, called "the dodecarchy" by Herodotus and Diodorus, and establishing himself as sole monarch of that country, was the year B.C. 652–1. The establishment of this single date seems to me to lead to so many important results in history as to justify some detail, while examining the grounds upon which it rests.

We are all aware that Manetho, the Egyptian priest and historian, in the days of Philadelphus, assuming that his reckoning is truly represented to us by Africanus, in the third century, placed the death of Necho I, the father of Psammetichus, in the year B.C. 655, and the accession of Psammetichus in 654, allowing for no interval between the two reigns: thus—

#### XXVIth DYNASTY-OF NINE SAITE KINGS.

Stephinates				7 y	zears,	from B.C.	675
Nechepsos				6	• •	77	668
Necho I				-8	,,	,,	662
Psammetichus				54	,,	,,	654
Necho II				6	77	٠,	600
Psammuthis				6	,,	,,	594
Vaphres (or He	ophra	.)		19	,,	,1	588
Amasis				44	,,	,,	569
Psammecherites				6 r	nonths.	,,	525
Altog	ether	150	vear	s an	d 6 m	onths.	

#### XXVIIth DYNASTY-OF EIGHT PERSIAN KINGS.

Cambyses, in the 5th year of his reign over the Persians, reigned over Egypt six years \*  $\cdot$  .  $\begin{cases} 525 \\ \text{to} \\ 519 \end{cases}$ 

This reckoning is peculiar to Manetho, as copied by Africanus, both as regards the date of the death of Necho I, and the date of the death of Cambyses. Both dates, however, I believe to be correct. But the copyist is, I think, incorrect in placing the accession of Psammetichus immediately after the death of his father, who was merely one of twelve kings in lower Egypt, not sovereign both of upper and lower Egypt. So that Psammetichus could not by inheritance lay claim to the title to the throne of the whole kingdom so early as B.C. 554. If we modify this statement, as seems to be required, by allowing an interval of two years between the death of Necho and the actual accession of Psammetichus, during which time Psammetichus was once compelled to fly from Egypt, that is when the king of Ethiopia had slain his father,† and once again confined by the other eleven kings to the lower parts of Egypt, as related by Herodotus, it will bring us to the same year B.C. 652-1 for the time of his becoming sole and absolute king of upper and lower Egypt. This testimony of Manetho is valuable for its independence of other reckonings of the reigns of the XXVIth Dynasty. Yet it has never been accepted by chronologists, owing to uncertainty as to the

<sup>\*</sup> Cambyses reigned from 529 to 518, and died in May, 518. His first year in Egypt was 525, though Psammecherites then reigned; 518, his last, was counted to the Magi.

<sup>†</sup> Herodotus ii, 152.

proper mode of adjusting the reckoning of the intermediate reigns from Psammetichus to Cambyses, after curtailing ten years from the sum total of the separate reigns, as known from monumental sources, which together amount to 160 years and 6 months, not 150 and 6 months, as stated by Africanus. Even Africanus himself, who makes the deduction of ten years, does it incorrectly, by shortening the reign of Necho II, and making it six instead of sixteen years, rather than lapping over the reigns of Apries and Amasis.

In the year 1864 I pointed out," in reply to a paper written by Dr. Hincks in the Journal of Sacred Literature, how Mariette's discovery of the tombs of the sacred bulls buried at Memphis in the successive reigns of Tirhakah, Psammetichus, Necho II, Psammuthis, Apries, Amasis, Cambyses, and Darius, had supplied the means of correctly adjusting these several reigns: how from these Apis-monuments it was proved to be incorrect to assign to both Apries and Amasis the full length of their reigns, inasmuch as the Apis whose burial took place in August of the 12th year of Apries was followed by an Apis installed in February of the 5th year of Amasis, showing that the 5th of Amasis must have followed within six or eighteen months of the 12th year of Apries; and how these two kings, therefore, must have been living, if not reigning, together for ten or eleven years. From the Apis-tablets, therefore, we learn that the last year of Apries was concurrent with the 11th year of Amasis, B.C. 559, and by a comparison of these tablets with other Egyptian monuments we obtain, what I conceive to be the correct arrangement of the reigns: thus-

Psammetichus 54 year	es, from 2	Feb. B.C.	652
Necho II $15\frac{1}{2}$ ,		Jan. ,,	598
Psammuthis $5\frac{1}{2}$ ,	, ,, 16	,, ,,	583
Apries, or Hophra 19		,, ,,	577
Amasis, counting from his conquest of Apries \\ 44	, ,, 12	,, ,,	569
From the death of Apries 35† ,	, ,, 9	,,, ,,	558
Psammecherites 6 mon		,,	
Cambyses 6 year		17 57	
Magi 7 mor		,,	
Darius 36 year		Dec	

<sup>\*</sup> Journal of Sac. Lit., Oct., 1864.

<sup>+</sup> Diodorus has 55 in our present copies. Amasis was still alive in 524, according to Ctesias. Some called this his 35th year: others called it 2nd of Cambyses.

The same result is obtained from Herodotus,\* who tells us that when Amasis, who was of low rank by birth, and little honoured at first by the Egyptians, had conquered Apries of the blood royal of Egypt, he dared not to put the king to death, but allowed him to remain in his own palace at Sais, till he was put to death, as we are told by Josephus, in the 23rd or 24th year of Nebuchadnezzar, and by that king's command; or, as Herodotus relates, by the partizans of Amasis, who were jealous of his being allowed to live. Apries was then buried with kingly honours, and a sumptuous monument erected by Amasis to his memory. After the death of Apries, Amasis no doubt reckoned his own reign as 44 years, counting from the conquest of his master; but the priests of Memphis who inscribed the tablets, and also the neighbouring nations, would still have looked upon Apries as legitimate king as long as he remained alive, that is, till B.C. 559. Thus while the 4th year of Amasis, 566, was reckoned by the priests as the 12th of Apries, Ezekiel, in the 7th year of Amasis, still speaks of Hophra as Pharaoh, while apparently alluding to his deprivation of power, in these words:-"I have broken the arm of Pharaoh king of Egypt, and it shall not be bound up to be healed."

A similar and striking instance of this double mode of reckoning regnal years, on a change of dynasty from kingly to plebeian line, and one bearing, as we shall see, on the chronology of this period, is found in the time of Herod the great. For when he had conquered and deposed Antigonus, the last of the Asmonean kings of Judæa, at the close of the sabbatical year B.C. 37, three years after he had been appointed king by the Senate of Rome, Josephus tells us that not even torture could induce the Jews to recognize him as king so long as Antigonus, of native kingly race, which Herod was not, remained alive. Antigonus, therefore, was at length put to death by Mark Antony, as Apries had been put to death by the partizans of Amasis, that Herod might reign; and Josephus records a double reckoning of the years of his reign, counting thirty-seven years from his appointment by the Senate, or rather perhaps from

<sup>\*</sup> Herod. ii, 172,

<sup>†</sup> Jos. Ant. x, ix, 7.

<sup>‡</sup> Ezek. xxx, 21.

<sup>||</sup> Ibid. xvii, viii. 1.

his arrival in Judæa as king, and thirty-four years from the time of the murder of Antigonus, in the spring of B.C. 36.\*

In the same article, I referred to an argument, the force of which was fully recognized by Dr. Hincks, drawn from the date of the total solar eclipse of B.C. 585, which put an end to the six years' war between Cyaxares and Alyattes king of Lydia, which war was over before the capture of Nineveh. Dr. Hincks laboured hard to show that the total eclipse of B.C. 603 must have been the eclipse referred to by Herodotus, though Alyattes, according to the Parian Chronicle, had then been only two years on the throne, and it is now determined by astronomers that the shadow of that eclipse passed over the Red Sea, and not near Asia Minor; for he well knew, as most other chronologists also admit, that the eclipse and battle referred to must have happened close upon the time of the fall of Nineveh, and therefore close upon the time of the death of Necho II, and the first year of Nebuchadnezzar. So that Pharaoh Necho who fell into the hands of Nebuchadnezzar, who sought his life (Jerem. xlvi, 26), after 585, could not have died much earlier than the year B.C. 583, where I place his death. And as Psammetichus began to reign in the 70th year preceding Necho's death, the accession of Psammetichus by this argument also would be placed not earlier than B.C. 652.

Mr. George Smith, from the inscriptions of Assurbanipal, has led us, by a perfectly different process, to the same conclusion. He has given the list of Archons eponymes at Nineveh, together with their dates (p. 321), from the accession of Assurbanipal, in B.C. 668, to the year 648: and although he does not bind himself to any particular date for the first year of Psammetichus, he has shown that the revolt of Psammetichus from the dominion of Assyria, which began in the year of the death of Gyges king of Lydia, was connected with the revolt of Saulmugina king of Babylon, which broke out in the year that Assurdurusur was archon at Nineveh, that is, in the year B.C. 652–1 (66, 67, 151, 181).†

It will have been observed in the foregoing history, that Assurbanipal speaks of Gyges king of Lydia, having "sent his forces to the

<sup>\*</sup> Herod's 35th year was not completed. He died before the month Nisan E.C. 1, and, according to Jewish custom, Archelaus' first year was reckoned from E.C. 2.

<sup>+</sup> See also Zeitschrift für Ægyptiche sprache, Sept. 1868, p. 98; also an article in the North British Review, July, 1870, p. 354.

aid of Psammetichus king of Egypt (Muzur), who had thrown off the yoke" (p. 66). Now those forces are unquestionably the same as the body of Carians and Ionians in brazen armour spoken of by Herodotus\* and Diodorus,† with whose assistance he conquered the other eleven kings of the dodecarchy, and made himself master of the throne. The chronology, therefore, of the period, after making some allowance for differences between Egyptian and Assyrian modes of relating the same facts, seems to run thus:-Necho's last year, as stated by Manetho, was B.C. 655. He was slain by the king of Ethiopia in that year. In the same year, according to Herodotus, Psammetichus was expelled from Egypt either by the Assyrians or Ethiopians, and fled into Asia Minor, where he was welcomed, as appears, at the court of Gyges. Gyges, then in his last year, took up his cause, and prepared to send a force of Carians and Ionians to support his claim to the throne of Egypt; both thus casting off their allegiance to the king of Assyria. Assurbanipal, who was then engaged in war with Elam, and unable to detach any of his forces, imprecates curses on the head of Gyges, who, in answer to his prayer, is slain by the Cimmerians, either in 655, or in the beginning of 654 (p. 67), and Psammetichus, in the same or the following year, is recalled to Egypt by the people of Sais. Being, however, suspected of ambitious designs upon the throne by the eleven other confederate kings, and not yet, therefore, reckoned sole king of Egypt, he is confined by them to the lower parts about the Delta; when suddenly, in B.C. 653, a body of Carians and Ionians having landed in the Delta, he puts himself at their head, and in the course of that year conquers the eleven confederates and makes himself supreme. His first year, therefore, was probably 653, though his reign would not be counted till the month Thoth in the following year, that is, from the 2nd Feb., B.C. 652.

The correctness of this view of the history is confirmed with exactness by a comparison of Diodorus with the records of Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal. Diodorus relates that when the king of Ethiopia, whom he wrongly supposes to be Sabbaco, but who was really Tirhakah, had, in obedience to a vision, departed from Egypt, and returned to Ethiopia, there was anarchy in Egypt during two

<sup>\*</sup> Herod. ii, 152.

years. The Assyrian account, as collected from the annals of Esarhaddon, is somewhat different. Esarhaddon records that he conquered Tirhakah about the year B.C. 671-670, and compelled him to fly into Ethiopia, and that the Assyrians then divided Egypt into twenty districts, and set over them so many petty kings, and governors. The annals of Assurbanipal then commence by recording how, in the year 668, when Esarhaddon was approaching his death, Tirhakah suddenly returned from Ethiopia, turned out the kings and governors, and again seized the throne; how he in turn was driven out a second time by Assurbanipal, and how the kings, twelve of whom bear Egyptian names, and governors were replaced, strengthened, and "joined in covenant" (p. 23). This union in covenant to support each other may be dated from B.C. 667, and continued for some few years. But "afterwards," let us say in 664, they entered into a conspiracy with Tirhakah, and invited him to become their supreme lord, instead of the Assyrians; still continuing their mutual covenant "to help each other" (p. 25). Here, then, are the two years of anarchy spoken of by Diodorus, during 669 and 668, very distinctly described, followed by a confederacy of twelve kings, and other governors, in B.C. 667. Diodorus then goes on to speak of this association of kings. For, after the two years of anarchy, he tells us that twelve principal governors conspired together at Memphis, and having sworn to support each other, made themselves kings, and administered the affairs of Egypt for 15 years; and that at the end of these 15 years, (πεντεκαιδεκα έτη, twice repeated in words), the government came into the hands of Psammetichus by the aid of a force of Arabians, Carians, and Ionians, by whom he put down the other eleven kings.\*

Thus while the Assyrian and Greek accounts sufficiently support each other as to facts, the chronology of the period has fortunately been preserved by Diodorus with complete exactness. For, if we deduct two years of anarchy and fifteen years of dodecarchy, together seventeen years, from the end of the year B.C. 670, when Tirhakah first fled from Esarhaddon into Ethiopia, we arrive again at the same date, B.C. 652, for the accession of Psammetichus.

I submit, therefore, that unless reason can be shown for doubting

<sup>\*</sup> Diodorus i, p. 59.

the accuracy of Diodorus, there is no room for disputing that the first year of the reign of Psammetichus, as king of upper and lower Egypt, was counted from the 2nd Feb., B.C. 652.

But perhaps the question may be raised, whether, admitting that Psammetichus revolted from Assyria in B.C. 652, it is not possible that his regnal years may have been counted from the time when his father Necho I was replaced on the throne of Sais by Assurbanipal, after he had been carried prisoner to Nineveh, that is, in B.C. 662, and when his son Neboshasban (which may probably be the Assyrian name given to Psammetichus) was made one of the dodecarchy, or a petty king, at Atribes (p. 28). The one, true, and sufficient answer, however, to this question, never to be set aside," must still be, that unless the total solar eclipse which put an end to the six years Lydo-Median war can be placed above the year B.C. 585, where astronomers have now finally fixed it, either by adopting the total eclipse of B.C. 610, where Ideler proposed to place the last battle, or the total eclipse of B.C. 603, for which Dr. Hincks so earnestly, but unsuccessfully contended, which are the only two alternatives, the fall of Nineveh and the death of Necho II, who went up against Nineveh, saying, "I will destroy the city and the inhabitants thereof,"† cannot be placed earlier than about B.C. 583, nor the first year of Psammetichus, therefore earlier than about B.C. 652. Apis-tablets testify that Psammetichus reigned over Egypt fifty-four years, and from the same authority we know that Necho II completed about fifteen years and a half. This joint period, therefore, of sixty-nine years and a half, beginning after the fall of the dodecarchy, in Feb. B.C. 652, and ending after the eclipse, in the summer of B.C. 583, when Nebuchadnezzar had been placed in command of his father's army, more than a year before his father's death, becomes thus, through the medium of the annals of Assurbanipal, one of the most accurately fixed periods in ancient history.

Again, the priests of Memphis registered the birth of an Apis in the 26th year of Tirhakah, and his death in the 20th year of Psammetichus, 20th day of the 12th month, Mesori.‡ So that, allowing Tirhakah to have reigned twenty-eight years, as "king of Egypt and Ethiopia" (Muzur and Kush), and his son Urdumane

(Rudammon) only two years, till he was ejected in the second expedition of Assurbanipal (p. 52), together thirty years; and supposing Psammetichus to have begun to reign in B.C. 662, Tirhakah would have become king of Egypt (Muzur) as early as 692. But this is not true. For when in the year B.C. 689=14th Hezekiah, Tirhakah came to fight with Sennacherib, he is spoken of by Isaiah, not as king of Egypt, but simply as king of Kush (שֶּלֶבֶּ בְּלֶבֶּ).\* So that Tirhakah was not yet king of Muzur as well as Kush so early as B.C. 692, nor did he become king of Egypt till after 689; and Psammetichus, who reigned not less than thirty years after the accession of Tirhakah to the throne of Egypt, could not, therefore, have begun to reign so early as 662.

The year B.C. 689 marks the time of a great chronological epoch in Jewish history. For in this year the affairs of Assyria, Babylonia, and Egypt, became closely interwoven with the political interests of the king of Jerusalem.

- 1. It is the year, in the spring of which the 14th of Hezekiah began, and in which Merodach-Baladan, son of Baladan† king of Babylon, sent messengers to inquire concerning his health, and "of the wonder done in the land."
- 2. It is the year in which Sethos, or Zeet, the last of the priests of Vulcan, according to Herodotus,‡ and the last of the Tanite dynasty of Egyptian kings, according to Manetho, in the eighty-fifth year of the XXIII<sup>rd</sup> Dynasty, counted from the period of the first Olympiad (July, 776–772), was opposed to Sennacherib in his campaign into Arabia and towards Egypt, when Tirhakah came out of Ethiopia, and when the army of Sennacherib was miraculously destroyed.
- 3. It is the year, in the autumn of which a Jewish Sabbatical year began, which was followed by the observance of a year of Jubilee, which could only take place once in forty-nine years; and which is shown by the words of Isaiah, "ye shall eat this year such as groweth of itself, and the second year that which springeth of the same." §

<sup>\*</sup> Isaiah xxxvii, 9.

<sup>+ &</sup>quot;Baladan" is here written short for Merodach-Baladan, as we find Shalman written for Shalmaneser, Jareb or Irib for Sennacherib, Saracus or Sharezar for Nergal-Sharezar.

<sup>‡</sup> Herod ii, 141. . § Isaiah xxxvii, 30; Lev. xxv, 5, 9, 11.

4. It is the year, on the 11th of January of which, Hezekiah being sick, the shadow "on the steps of Ahaz" in the king's sick chamber, returned "ten steps" which it had gone down.

The following are the elements of the solar eclipse at Jerusalem which caused this phenomenon, as computed by Mr. Hind, introducing Hansen's last value of the moon's secular equation:—

## Annular Solar Eclipse, B.C. 689, January 11.

Greenwich Mean Time of Conjunction in R.A., Jan. 10<sup>d</sup> 20<sup>h</sup> 45<sup>m</sup> 25<sup>s</sup>

R.A. of O and		 	 285°	15'	26".1
Hor. Mot. in R.A. O		 			43 .6
,,		 		32	8 ·1
Declination ©	)	 	 <b>—</b> 23	2	41 ·1
,,		 	 <b>—</b> 22	14	57 ·3
· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·				0	16 .2
,,		 	 +	6	15 ·1
Hor. Parallax		 			9.0
		 		54	40 .2
Semi-diameter C		 		16	11 .2
		 		14	53 .9
,,					

AT JERUSALEM THE ECLIPSE WOULD BE ANNULAR:-

				h			
First Contact		Jan.	10	20	28	- )	Astronomical
Commencement of	annular	phase		22	13	48	Mean Times
Ending	77			22	21	15	> at
Last Contact			11	0	6	- )	Jerusalem.

:. The duration of annular phase =  $7^{\text{m}}$   $27^{\text{s}}$ .

1871, July 3.

J. R. HIND.

<sup>\*</sup> Mr. Hind's computation of the time of this eclipse at Jerusalem is made in conformity with the most recent theory of the moon's secular acceleration, and, according to this theory. it appears to be soon after 10 o'clock A.M., the sun's altitude being then 30°. And he suggests that the appearance of a ring-formed sun, for between seven and eight minutes, may have been spoken of as "the wonder done in the land." The Astronomer Royal, computing by Greenwich elements in 1854, reckoned the time as about 10 minutes after 11 o'clock A.M., which appears to me to be nearer the truth. The words of Isaiah are, as it were, the record of an astronomical observation at Jerusalem of the moon's latitude and longitude on the 11th Jan. B.C. 689, taken in a dark chamber in the king's palace, on an instrument in the form of steps, set at the angle of the latitude of Jerusalem, 31° 47' N.: and the theory of course must be corrected by the observation. I have explained my idea of the nature of the Dial, or "Steps of Ahaz," in a recent work, "Messiah the Prince," 2nd Edit. 1869: according to which I conceive that the sun must have risen to about 35° in altitude on that day at the time of its greatest obscuration, and that the path of the shadow must have fallen four or five degrees north of Jerusalem: while the time was about twenty minutes before noon. The effect described could only have happened a few days before or after the winter solstice, when the shadow cast by the sun on the steps would be nearly parallel with them.

This eclipse, which fixes the 14th year of Hezekiah to the year B.C. 689, is of extreme value in settling the chronology of this period. Like the eclipse of Thales, B.C. 585, and the eclipse at Ninevel, in B.C. 763, it brings down the reigns of the kings of Judah exactly twenty-five years; and with regard to the matter in hand, it proves that Sethos, or Zeet, of the XXIIIrd Dynasty, in lower Egypt, and Sevechus the Ethiopian of the XXV<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, in upper Egypt, and Tirhakah, while yet king of Ethiopia, were all on the throne at the same time, when Sennacherib invaded Judæa in the year B.C. 689; and this in fact is what Manetho wished to convey concerning these dynasties, when, speaking of Petubastes, he wrote, "έφ δυ 'Ολυμπιὰς  $\eta_{\chi}\theta\eta$  πρώτη." Manetho must have known the exact relation of the reign of Petubastes to the Olympiad, and of course intended to express what he knew with chronological precision. He meant, therefore, that Petubastes began to reign within the four years beginning in July, B.C. 776, and ending in July, 772, which in common parlance was called the first Olympiad. We shall not err much in fixing the first year of Petubastes, therefore, in the beginning of B.C. 773, and the last year of Sethos in B.C. 685.

We now count up from the first year of Psammetichus, as fixed by the Annals of Assurbanipal, B.C. 652; and assuming that the Apis which died in his 20th year, and which was born in the 26th year of Tirhakah, had lived twenty-six years, we arrive at the date of the first year of Tirhakah, B.C. 684, as king of upper and lower Egypt, and conqueror of Sethos, and successor of Sevechus. The following is the result:—

result:— XXIIIrd DYNASTY,					
		OF FOUR	TANITE KING	s.	B.C.
		Petubastes	40 years		773
XXIVth DYNASTY.	Osorcho	8 ,, .		733	
B.C.	XXIV BIMBII.	Psammus	10 ,,		725
714	Boccoris the Saite, 6 years.	Zeet, or Sethos,	31 ,,		715
	XXV <sup>th</sup> DYNASTY, OF THREE ETHIOPIAN KINGS.				to
708	Sabbaco, or So 12 ,,				•
696	Sevechus 12 ,,				685
684	Tirhakah 28 "				684

Nevertheless, there are some perhaps who will be disposed to adhere, with Dr. Lepsius, to the common reckoning, and to place the first of Psammetichus in B.C. 664, and the last of Necho I in 595;

more especially as this reckoning is supported by the great authority of Clement of Alexandria. For Clement,\* one of the most learned men of his day, of the same city as Ptolemy the astronomer, and of about the same date, speaking of the captivity of Jechoniah king of Judah, tells us that he was carried "captive to Babylon by Nebuchadnezzar the king in the seventh year of his reign over the Assyrians, in the second year of the reign of Vaphres over the Egyptians, in the archonship of Philippus (Phænippus) at Athens, in the first year of the forty-eighth Olympiad," that is, in B.C. 588. Clement, therefore, thus places the first year of Apries in B.C. 589, and the first year of Nebuchadnezzar in 595. This reckoning at first sight seems to be admissible; for it just allows room for the twenty-nine years' siege of Ashdod by Psammetichus, spoken of so distinctly by Herodotus as one of the principal events of his reign, which, if commenced at the time of his accession in 652, might have placed him in possession of that city in 623, and also allows room for the twenty-eight years of Scythian occupation of Asia before the fall of Nineveh, t which, if counted from 623, might bring the fall of Nineveh and first of Nebuchadnezzar to B.C. 595. For the Scythians we know found Psammetichus in possession of Ashdod on their arrival in Palestine, and we read that "Azotus, or Ashdod, and Ascalon feared" the army of the king of Assyria "greatly." This reckoning of Clement, however, will not bear the test of examination. For neither Cylinder B, of the foregoing annals, dated probably in the archonship of Belsunu, B.C. 647, nor Cylinder A, dated probably in 640, in the archorship of Samas-dain-ani (p. 321), make any allusion to this siege of Ashdod by Psammetichus; while we read in the history of the ninth expedition of Assurbanipal, B.C. 647, of the submission of the Arabians of Nabatea, of the punishment of Akko and Usu on the return of the Assyrians through Palestine (p. 299), without a word of allusion to Psammetichus or Ashdod; and in a tenth expedition, B.C. 645, spoken of in a fragment in the British Museum (which, however, Mr. Smith thinks may possibly belong to the reign of Esarhaddon, but which may refer to the reign of Assurbanipal), after mention of the siege

of Tyre, in the reign of Baal, it is said that the king's army went from Muzur (Egypt) to Milukha (Ethiopia or upper Egypt), showing that the authority of Assurbanipal was neither yet so low in Egypt nor that of Psammetichus yet so high, as to allow of the continuous siege of Ashdod so early as B.C. 645. If we may surmise that Psammetichus drove the king of Assyria out of Egypt in that year, and began to lay siege to Ashdod in 644, this fortress would have come into possession of Psammetichus in B.C. 615, and, allowing five years' occupation to the Egyptian king before the arrival of the Scythians, that is, till 610, the fall of Nineveh and the first of Nebuchadnezzar would have happened in B.C. 583, as I have already determined. Clement's date, therefore, is probably placed twelve years too high. Of this, however, we may be quite certain, that he knew of no sufficient authority for Ptolemy's date, B.C. 604, for the first year of Nebuchadnezzar, which must be looked upon as Ptolemy's own invention, and which is absolutely inadmissible. For if the Scythians entered Palestine twenty-eight years before 604, that is, in B.C. 632, room cannot be found for the twenty-nine years' siege of Ashdod after B.C. 652. I have frequently drawn attention to the worthlessness of the dates in Ptolemy's Canon attached to the reigns of Nebuchadnezzar and his successors at Babylon; and it must be borne in mind that Ptolemy's reckoning, though justly relied upon when supported by astronomical data, is not necessarily to be held in the same estimation when astronomical data are wanting, or, in fact, as in this instance, bearing against it. Both Ptolemy and Clement must be set down as incorrect as regards the date of the first year of Nebuchadnezzar; but we are indebted to Clement for confirming the synchronism of the first of Nebuchadnezzar with the last year of Necho II, which is in agreement with the interpretation of Josephus, and which is so clearly implied by Jeremiah where he writes,"—"Pharaoh (Necho) and them that trust in him I will deliver into the hands of those who seek their lives, and into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon."

Clement goes on to state,—"The captivity (that is of Jechoniah, in the 7th of Nebuchadnezzar, B.C. 588) lasted for seventy years, and

<sup>\*</sup> Compare Jerem. xxv, 1, with xlvi, 2, 26. Mr. Smith, I think, is incorrect in supposing that this passage applies to Pharaoh Hophra. Nebuchadnezzar was in Egypt when he heard of his father's death, in B.C. 581, after the battle of Carchemish.

ended in the second year of Darius Hystaspes, who had become king of the Persians, Assyrians, and Egyptians," that is, in B.C. 518, when Darius was about thirty-seven years of age. Now here it is that the whole system of Clement's chronology, as well as of the common scheme of reckoning, breaks down. For, à fortiori, if seventy years, counted from the 7th of Nebuchadnezzar, end in the reign of Darius Hystaspes, the "seventy years' desolations of Jerusalem," which began in the 19th of Nebuchadnezzar, and ended, as Daniel tells us, in the reign of "Darius the son of Ahasuerus of the seed of the Medes," must have come to end in the reign of the same king, Darius Hystaspes. But this king, as Daniel tells us, took the throne of Babylon on the death of Belshazzar, when "about three score and two years old,"† that is, in the year B.C. 492, not when he was about thirty-seven years old in 518.

The true reckoning now comes out in perfect plainness, thus:-

	B.C.
Psammetichus and his son Necho II reign in succession	652
for sixty-nine years and a half, till the 1st year of	to
Nebuchadnezzar, in association with his father, from	583
Nebuchadnezzar destroys Jerusalem in his 19th year after the death of his father	563‡
Jerusalem remains desolate seventy full years, till Darius puts an end to the kingdom or satrapy of Babylon at the age of 62 §	493
Seventy weeks of years, or 490 years, are counted from the first of Darius over Babylon to the birth of Christ, at the time when Cyrenius, or Quirinus, was governor of Syria	3

This is manifestly the true outline of chronology from the time of the accession of Psammetichus to the birth of Christ, and greatly supported by the Annals of Assurbanipal; while it is entirely subversive of the common reckoning, which is built upon many false foundations:—

1. On the assumption, that Psammetichus king of Egypt began to reign more than ten years before the expiration of the dodecarchy in Egypt, which cannot be true.

<sup>§</sup> Darius died at the age of 72, according to Ctesias. He began to reign in B.c. 517, and completed 36 years.

<sup>||</sup> As discovered by Dr. Zumpt.

- 2. On the adoption of the dates of Ptolemy the astronomer, in connexion with the reigns of Nebuchadnezzar and his successors at Babylon, dates unknown to Africanus, Clement of Alexandria, and Eusebius, and resting on no astronomical foundation.
- 3. On the assumption, that the battle fought by Alyattes king of Lydia in his sixth campaign against the Medes, and ended by a total solar eclipse, was fought in B.C. 610, or 603; that is, either five years before Alyattes came to the throne, or before he had reigned four years.
- 4. On the absurd assumption, that Astyages king of Media, who married a Lydian princess in the year of the eclipse, B.C. 585, was conquered by his grandson Cyrus king of Persia in B.C. 559, when Cyrus was 40 years of age.\*
- 5. On the assumption, that the record of the taking of Babylon by "Darius,"† in the Book of Daniel, is a record of the taking of Babylon by Cyrus.
- 6. On the assumption that king "Darius" who lived in the time of Daniel, was king Cyaxares.
- 7. On the assumption, that king Cambyses, who lived not long before the time of Ezra, was called by Ezra "Ahasuerus;" and that Bardes, or Gomates, the usurper in the days of Darius, was known to Ezra by the title "Artacshastha.";

I propose, on the other hand, to adhere strictly to the foregoing outline of chronology in what follows, and in doing so, I think it will be found that many apparently conflicting records in ancient history readily fall into place.

#### II. AS REGARDS ASSYRIA.

Assurbanipal, as we have seen, was associated on the throne with his father Esarbaddon in May, B.C. 668, in which year his father died. He began, therefore, to reign alone in the year B.C. 667.

<sup>\*</sup> Hales' Chronology, Vol. i, p. 269.

<sup>†</sup> Herodotus speaks of Darius, son of Hystaspes, as king of the Medes.

<sup>‡</sup> To the above contradictions may be added,—That the capture of Samaria by "Shalmanezer," was the capture of Samaria by Sargon.

The exact duration of his reign cannot be gathered from the Assyrian records. But, by comparing these records with the Babylonian Canon and other sources of information, it may be inferred, with much probability, that he reigned forty-two years. From the foregoing history it appears that, on the death of Esarhaddon, whose principal residence was at Babylon, his younger son Saulmugina (the Sammughes of Polyhistor) had been left as viceroy on the throne of Babylon; and, according to the Babylonian Canon, he reigned there twenty years, till the year B.C. 648, when, being found in rebellion against his elder brother Assurbanipal, he was conquered at Babylon, and immediately burnt to death (163). Saulmugina is corruptly written in the Canon, Saosduchinus. Again, from the Babylonian Canon we learn that Kineladanus, who, according to Polyhistor, was brother of Sammuges, and therefore brother of Assurbanipal, or Assurbanipal himself,\* succeeded him at Babylon, and reigned twenty-two years, till the year B.C. 626; after which Nabopalassar came to the throne. The years of Nabopalassar we know are astronomically fixed, by an eclipse in his third year, as beginning in B.C. 625. So that the two sons of Esarhaddon, who reigned in succession at Babylon, covered a period of exactly fortytwo years, till the reign of Nabopalassar.

Now, I have always maintained that Nabopalassar king of Babylon was also that king of Nineveh known to the Greeks by the title Sardanapalus, as indeed Polyhistor distinctly attests, when he relates that Sardanapalus having reigned twenty-one years married his son Nabuchodrosser to the daughter of Astyages;† and if we look to the list of Assyrian kings as given by Eusebius from Castor and Abydenus, we shall find it difficult to come to any other conclusion. For we there find the names of the three last kings of the Assyrian dynasty thus written:—

<sup>\*</sup> Mr. Smith identifies Kineladanus with Assurbanipal, p. 324. If so, he reigned 42 years.

<sup>†</sup> Probably a mistake for Astibares. Eupolemus writes—"Itaque Nabuchodonosorem, Babyloniorum regem, ubi rem quomodo ab Hieremia prænuntiata fuerat rescivisset, Astibarem (= Cyaxarem in Ctesia) Medorum regem, uti hujus expeditionis socius esse vellet, obsecrasse: conjunctoque Babyloniorum et Medorum exercitu——Joachimum regem vivum cepisse."—Muller's Fragments, Vol. iii, p. 229.

Thus the immediate predecessor of Sardanapalus, called Acraganes. reigned forty-two years at Nineveh. Now, to assume that Acraganes reigned after Assurbanipal, who certainly was still on the throne about B.C. 640, would be to bring down the fall of Ninevch, in the time of Saracus, some eighty years below that date, that is to say, to about B.C. 560, which is quite out of the question; and as he cannot be identified with Esarhaddon, we can only conclude that Assurbanipal and Acraganes are one and the same king. Indeed Acraganes appears to be merely a corruption from Assurbani, to which form the name of Assurbanipal was sometimes contracted. While this king, therefore, as eldest son of Esarhaddon, occupied the throne of Nineveh for forty-two years, till the time of Sardanapalus, his brother and himself occupied the throne of Babylon in succession for forty-two years, till the reign of Nabopalassar, who was called Sardanapalus. He reigned, therefore, from B.C. 668 to 626: the reign of his son Assur-ebil-ili being included probably in this last year, he having been associated with his father before his death.

To the great disturbance however, as I think, of the true history, it has been usual to identify Assurbanipal himself with Sardanapalus. Thus Professor Rawlinson writes,—"He was no doubt one of the two kings called Sardanapalus, celebrated by Hellanicus; he must have been the warlike Sardanapalus of Callisthenes."\* This opinion is worthy of much respect, as having been adopted by the authorities of the British Museum, as indicated on the slabs brought from the palace of Assurbanipal. It may be observed, however, on the other hand, that as Callisthenes speaks of two kings called Sardanapalus, the one effeminate the other warlike, t so Herodotus also speaks of two kings, about the end of the seventh or beginning of the sixth century B.C., both bearing the same title Labynetus, the first of whom, for reasons hitherto unexplained, yielded up the reins of government, and allowed his kingdom to be administered by his wife Nitocris; the second, known as the great king of Babylon, son of Labynetus and Nitocris, against whom Cyrus the Persian, grandson of Astyages, called the mule, had commenced warlike preparations.; when, as Megasthenes relates, being seized with frenzy, he ascended the upper

<sup>\*</sup> Ancient Monarchies, Vol. ii, p. 502. † Suidas, voce Sardanapales, ‡ Herod. i, 188.

terrace of his palace, forewarned the Babylonians of the coming of a Persian mule who should capture Babylon, and suddenly died. So also Jewish records speak of two great kings, both called Nabuchodonosor, the one who was forsaken by his allies, wanting in military capacity, and given to feasting and luxury, viz., "Nabuchodonosor who reigned at Nineveh,\* whose dependent provinces made light of his commands, and sent away his ambassadors from them without effect and with disgrace;" the other, the warlike Nebuchadnezzar, who together with Cyaxares, or Ahasuerus, t conquered Nineveh, likened by Megasthenes to Hercules, who conquered Tyre, Egypt, and Jerusalem, and established the Babylonian empire. These two pairs of unwarlike and warlike kings, called Labynetus and Nabuchodonosor, can only be identified with the Nabopalassar and his son Nabuchodrossor of the Chaldean historians; and as it would be unreasonable to imagine three pairs of kings, bearing the same titles, living within the same range of time, and distinguished by the same characteristics of effeminacy and valour, there can be no question that Polyhistor is correct, and that Sardanapalus the effeminate represents Nabopalassar the father of Nebuchadnezzar, and Sardanapalus the warlike, the warlike Nebuchadnezzar himself; and that Labynetus, or Nabo-netzar, the husband of Nitocris, and Nabuchodonosor who reigned at Nineveh, are one and the same king. But again, this is exactly what Abydenus and Castor have told us, when they name the other title by which Sardanapalus was known. The most corrupt and incomprehensible form of the title is Thonos Concoleros, the least corrupt form perhaps being Makoscoleros, as written by Sycellus. ‡ Now, "Mako," I conceive to be merely a corruption of Nabo; and Naboconcoleros no one can doubt would be a corruption of Nabochodoneros, or Nabuchodonosor.

Thus Assurbanipal, or Acraganes, who reigned forty-two years, was predecessor of Sardanapalus, not Sardanapalus himself; and Sardanapalus, or Nabopalassar, reigned twenty years over Nineveh. Thus also, the chronology of the empire of Assyria is brought down with distinctness to the year B.C. 606, the last year of the reign of Nabopalassar, or Sardanapalus. And as during the reigns of Sargon, Sennacherib, Esarhaddon, Assurbanipal, and Saracus, Nineveh and

<sup>\*</sup> Judith i, 1, 11.

Babylon formed parts of the same empire, so Nabopalassar, though fixing his palace at Babylon, like Esarhaddon, is properly described, as in the Book of Judith, as reigning at Nineveh.

The history now becomes somewhat obscure. Nevertheless, it lies before us, if we are willing to put together the scattered threads which have been preserved. For we learn from Cleitarchus that "Sardanapalus died of old age, after having been deprived of the empire of Syria," that is, Assyria. It was not he, therefore, that burned himself in his own palace. Aristobulus\* informs us that Sardanapalus was buried at Ankiale, near Tarsus, and that the inscription on his tomb declared that he was descended from Anacynderaxes, or Anabaxares, both probably corruptions of Sennacherib. He may have been descended, therefore, through a female line from Esarhaddon and Sennacherib: and so claimed the empire of right on the death of Assur-ebil-ili. And this is the meaning of a peculiar expression used by Abydenus, who, after speaking of Axerdis or Esarhaddon, writes,—"hinc Sardanapalus exortus est." That he was still alive as late as B.C. 585, we know from Herodotus, who says that it was "Labynetus of Babylon,"—he does not say king—who with Syennesis of Cilicia brought about peace between the Medes and Lydians in that year, which well accords with the fact of his residence at Tarsus; and from Berosus we learn, that at the time of the fall of Nineveh (583) he was incapable of heading his own army, which he placed under his son Nebuchadnezzar. All this, again, is perfectly consistent with the fact that his wife Nitocris was reigning at Babylon when Nineveh was finally overthrown in that year.

Now what we wish to know is, what was doing at Nineveh during the twenty-four years from 606 to 583, while Sardanapalus, or Nabopalassar was taking his ease at Tarsus, and while Nitocris was holding the reins of government at Babylon.

If we turn to Agathias, who follows the history of Ctesias, he tells us, that it was Arbaces† the Mede, and Belesus the Babylonian, son of Delcetades, who deprived Sardanapalus of the empire (in B.C. 606): and from Abydenus we learn that Saracus, who must have

<sup>\*</sup> The several passages may be conveniently referred to in Clinton's Fast. Hell., Vol. i, 275.

<sup>†</sup> We know of no king of Media at this time called Arbaces. Possibly Belesus the Babylonian may have been prefect of Arbaka.

succeeded Belesus, was in possession—he does not say how—of the throne of Nineveh, when Nebuchadnezzar and Cyaxares conquered that city, and when Saracus, not Sardanapalus, burned himself in his palace (in B.C. 583). Now, with regard to the fall of Assyria, it has been customary to suppose that the son of Assurbanipal, whose name is written Bel-ebil-eli, was the last king of Nineveh. But it has been conjectured that he had two successors, Bel-ziker-iskun (or Bel-sum-iskun), and a son and successor of Bel-ziker-iskun, whose name is supposed to be lost, and who was probably the monarch under whom Nineveh was destroyed.

This conjecture may not unlikely prove to be the truth. For who is Bel-sum-(iskun) "king of Assyria,"\* but Belesus, son of Delcetades of Ctesias? and who is his son, whose name is said to be lost, but (Nergal)-Sharezar, or Saracus, who, on a tablet in the British Museum, announces himself to be son of Bel-sum-iskun, "king of Babylon,"\* and who has hitherto been supposed to be quite another king.†

The succession, therefore, of kings at Nineveh, was thus:—

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Nabopalassar, or Sardanapalus,
 Nabuehodonosor, or Labynetus,
                                                  625
 husband of Nitocris .....
The Seythians obtain supremacy in Asia for 28 years ...
                                                  610
They make peace with Psammetichus in .. .. ..
                                                  608
Bel-sum-iskun, or Belesus, and
 his son Saraeus, or Nergal-Sharezar, as tributaries to reign 22 years, from B.C. 605?
  Scythia .. .. ..
Nabopalassar and Nitocris, after
                                                  583
  the fall of Nineveh ....
Nebuchadnezzar .. .. .. ,,
                                                  581
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This is obviously the true outline of the history: and we find accordingly that it was well understood by Herodotus, Abydenus, and the writer of the Book of Judith, and that together they have given us all the necessary leading dates connected with it. No reasonable person can doubt that Herodotus and the writer of Judith

 $<sup>\</sup>mbox{*}$  Mr, Smith (p. 323) has placed Bilzikeriskun between Tiglath-Pileser and Sennacherib. But who then is Nergal-Sharezar?

<sup>†</sup> See Cuneiform Inscriptions, Vol. i, p. 8, No. VI.

had the same history before them, when they wrote concerning the last days of Nineveh. Herodotus relates that a certain king of Nineveh slew Phraortes the Mede in battle: \* that a few years after Cyaxares the Mede came up against Nineveh to avenge his father's death: that the allies of Assyria held themselves aloof: that Cyaxares was the king who afterwards made peace with the Lydians at the time of the eclipse of B.C. 585: that Nineveh was saved on this occasion by an army of Scythians: that the Scythians soon after they had conquered the Medes led their forces towards Egypt, and were met by Psammetichus king of Egypt in Palestine, who purchased peace: that on their return, the Scythians plundered Ascalon: and that they remained masters of Asia for twenty-eight years, till the fall of Nineveh. In the Book of Judith we read, that Nabuchodonosor (Nabopalassar, whose reign is fixed by an eclipse) "who reigned at Nineveh," in his 12th year (B.C. 614) slew Arphaxad king of the Medes in battle: that not long after he was forsaken of his allies: that in his 18th year (B.C. 608) he sent an army of 120,000 footmen, and 12,000 cavalry, by the way of Damascus, and Tyre, and Sidon into Palestine, "and they that dwelt in Azotus, or Ashdod, and Ascalon feared him greatly: and they sent embassadors unto him (the general Holofernes) to treat of peace:" that Joakim, or Eliakim, the aged high priest, was then still ruling in Jerusalem (B.C. 608, being the ninth year of the reign of the young king Josiah): and that Judith, after slaying Holofernes, lived to the 105th year, (i.e. of the captivity of the ten tribes) till B.C. 591. Neither of these histories, however, gives the exact time of the entry of the Scythians into power, from which to calculate twenty-eight years to the fall of Nineveh. But here Abydenus comes in with a remarkably exact date, showing that he had the same history before him as Herodotus and the writer of Judith. For, after enumerating the several kings of Assyria down to Sardanapalus, he writes concerning this last king—"qui omnium extremus fuit: a quo ad primum Olympiadem 67 (read 167) anni putantur" \\_\_that is, from the year B.C. 610, inclusive, to B.C. 776.

<sup>§</sup> Euseb. Chron. i, xiii, p. 36. Mr. Clinton, Vol. i, p. 273, assumes that Abydenus has here contradicted himself to the extent of more than 230 years, which is highly improbable.

Thus the supremacy of the Scythians in Asia, which began before the expulsion of Sardanapalus from Nineveh by Belsumiskun, is dated with precision in B.C. 610, and lasted for twenty-eight years, till the time when Saracus, or Sharezar, son of Belsumiskun, was conquered by the Medes and Babylonians in B.C. 583. Abydenus then counts 1,280 years upwards from 610, inclusive, to the time of the Chaldean dynasty of Ninus and Semiramis, leading up to the year B.C. 1889: and Ctesias counts 1,306 years from 583, leading up from the overthrow of Nineveh by the Medes and Babylonians to Ninus and Semiramis, which brings us again to the same date, B.C. 1889.

This series of dates is consistent, accurate, and complete. When Berosus, therefore, as quoted by Josephus, places the first year of Nebuchadnezzar after a twenty-nine years' reign of Nabopalassar in Babylon, he is reckoning from the time when the establishment of Scythian supremacy left him only his tributary position at Babylon: and when Ctesias affirms that Nineveh was destroyed in the time of Sardanapalus, he is in fact stating the truth, though mistaken in supposing that it was Sardanapalus, instead of Saracus, who destroyed himself in his palace.

The recovery, thus made, of the date of the Chaldean dynasty of Ninus and Semiramis, B.C. 1889, leads again to the recovery of the true date of the invasion of Assyria by Pul the Chaldean. For Berosus tells us that after three successive dynasties at Nineveh, that is to say, of—

there arose a Chaldean king called Phul, who invaded the Assyrian empire and subjugated it to the Chaldees. Now Phul, without question, is "Pul king of Assyria," who "came against the land: and Menahem gave Pul 1,000 talents of silver to confirm the kingdom to his hand" (2 Kings xv, 19). If Pul, therefore, began

<sup>\*</sup> The figure in the original is 245, making 1,229 years, instead of 1,129. If that figure is retained, the 1,280 years of Castor and Abydenus must be altered to 1,380, and the 1,306 of Ctesias to 1,406. I prefer to alter 245 into 145.

to reign 1,129 years after Ninus and Semiramis, in B.C. 1889, his first year must have been B.C. 760: and as the reign of Tiglath-Pileser is fixed, by means of the eclipse at Ninevel in 763, to the year B.C. 745, the reign of Pul must have fallen between the years 760 and 745. Now, according to my reckoning, that is the reckoning of Demetrius,\* the year 760 is the 26th year of Uzziah, and the last year of Jeroboam king of Israel, and it is the third year after the eclipse of June, B.C. 763: and with reference to this eclipse the prophet Amos writes—"And it shall come to pass in that day, saith the Lord God, that I will cause the sun to go down at noon, and I will darken the earth in the clear day" (Amos viii, 9); and again, "Thus Amos saith, Jeroboam shall die by the sword, and Israel shall surely be led away captive out of their own land" (vii, 11). Accordingly, it was in the year 760 that "the God of Israel stirred up the spirit of Pul king of Assyria, and the spirit of Tiglath-Pileser, and he carried them away, even the Reubenites and the Gadites," &c. (1 Chron. v, 26), and when Jeroboam must have died by the sword.

The chronology of the Assyrian empire, therefore, may thus be collected:—

Elamite, or Median, domination,	lasted	224 y	ears,	from B.C.	2287
Eleven kings	,,	(175)	,,	,,	2062
From Ninus and Semiramis	,,	458	,,	,,	1889
Arabian invasion	,,	145	,,	"	1431
Assyrian empire from Ninippalzara	ι ,,	526	,,	,,	1286
Invasion of Pul the Chaldean	,,	15	"	,,	760
Restoration of the Assyrian empire under Tiglath-Pileser and his successors	"	<b>1</b> 35	,,	"	745†
Invasion of the Scythians	,,	28	,,	,,	610
Final destruction of Nineveh and empire of the Medes }			"	77	583

From the foregoing reasoning, I submit that two things may be inferred with absolutely certainty—

1st. That the Median empire, after the fall of Nineveh, did not begin till after the year B.C. 585.

<sup>\*</sup> See p. 365.

<sup>+</sup> Fixed by the eclipse recorded at Nineveh in B.C. 763, eighteen years before his accession. The path of this eclipse, as calculated by Mr. Hind, is given as frontispiece to "Messiah the Prince."

2nd. That since Cyaxares king of Media was still reigning in 585, and Astyages his son married the daughter of Alyattes in that year, and was on the throne at least forty years after that date, the conquest of the Medes by the Persians, and the establishment of the supremacy of the latter, did not take place under Cyrus so early as B.C. 559: nor probably till the year B.C. 538, that is to say, till after the traditional date of the fall of Astyages, B.C. 539, as preserved by Syncellus both in the astronomical and the ecclesiastical canons.

I would earnestly suggest, therefore, to historians to take into consideration the impossibility of maintaining the reckoning of Herodotus when treating of the times of the Median and Persian empires, which is at variance with the one leading date which he has been the means of preserving to us: and that they should give heed to the histories of Ctesias and Xenophon, which are found in harmony with that date, but which are too frequently set aside as mere romance.

Astronomers also will permit me to point out that they are apparently wasting their strength, while endeavouring to rectify the theory of the moon's secular acceleration on the assumption that the siege of Larissa, which happened when the Medes were conquered by the Persians, took place so early as the year B.C. 557, and assuming as the fundamental point in their calculations that the shadow of the solar eclipse of that year must have passed centrally over that city.\* While theologians will excuse me, if I entreat them no longer to make void and unintelligible the most gracious of all gracious revelations ever vouchsafed to man from heaven, by continuing to uphold the untenable contradiction, that the prophet Daniel when speaking of the great king "Darius," who took the government of Babylon in hand when about sixty-two years of age, and from whose reign are counted the "weeks" of years "unto Messiah the Prince," was speaking of some Median king bearing quite another title, or of any other king than the well known king Darius, son of Hystaspes.

<sup>\*</sup> See Philosophical Transactions, 1853. Sir John Herschel's Astronomy, p. 685; and Hansen's Lunar and Solar Tables.

<sup>+</sup> See the last two, and most learned, commentaries on the Book of Daniel, by Dr. Pusey, and the present Bishop of Lincoln.

#### III.—As regards Lydia.

Concerning the chronology of the kings of Lydia, two dates may be considered as fixed with almost absolute certainty. First, that Gyges, the successor of Candaules, began to reign in the year B.C. 704-3, in the first year of the 19th Olympiad. Second, that Alyattes began to reign in the year B.C. 605-4. The interval between these two reigns is exactly ninety-nine years, which in our present copies of Herodotus is thus filled up:—

Gyges reigns		 	 38 years.
Ardys	 	 	 49 ,,
Sadyattes	 	 	 12 ,,
			99 years.

As regards the first of these dates, Pliny records that Candaules died in the course of the 18th Olympiad = B.C. 708-4: and Clement of Alexandria, that Gyges began to reign after the 18th Olympiad, that is in B.C. 704-3. As regards the second, the accession of Alyattes is fixed by the Parian Chronicle to the year B.C. 605-4.

The interval between the time of the accession of Gyges and the reign of Alyattes has been filled up by Eusebius almost according to fancy: thus—

CHRONICLE OF EUSEBIUS.*				Canon of Eusebius.			SYNCELLES.	
		PART	I.	PART II.	CANON	OF LIUSEDIO	υ.	OTREEHES.
Gyges		35	years.	36		36		36
Ardys		37	,,	48		38		38
Sadyattes	• •	5	,,	15	• •	15		15
			-					
		77	years.	99		89		89

In the uncertainty produced by these several variations, showing the very wavering character of this portion of the chronology of Eusebius, the Annals of Assurbanipal come to our assistance with much precision to rectify his dates. For, as I have already shown (p. 342), Psammetichus fled to the court of Gyges in the year B.C. 655-4, and Gyges, who favoured his revolt against Assyria, also died in that same year. Gyges, therefore, must have reigned fortynine years, from B.C. 703 to 655, not thirty-six years as given by Eusebius, nor thirty-eight years as in our present copies of Herodotus. It is clear, therefore, that either Herodotus, or more

<sup>\*</sup> Armenian copy. Aucher.

probably his copyist, had reversed the figures attached to the regnal years of Gyges and his son Ardys, which should be written forty-nine for the first, and thirty-eight for the second, producing after correction the following chronology of the kingdom of Lydia:—

Gyges	reigns	49	years,	from B.C.	703
Ardys	"	38	,,	,,	654
Sadyattes	,,	12	,,	,,	616
Alyattes	,,	57	,,	,,	604
Crœsus	,,	14	,,	,,	548
					to
					534

And thus the conquest of Crœsus falls, as it should do, not many years after the establishment of the supremacy of the Persians over the Medes, which, as I have said, took place in the year B.C. 538, on the death of Astyages, who was buried with kingly honours by his son-in-law Cyrus father of Cambyses, who took the throne of Ecbatana in B.C. 538, and established the empire of the Persians.

# IV. AS REGARDS JUDÆA.

From the foregoing history of Assurbanipal, following chiefly the outline laid down in Cylinder A, we learn that in his first expedition he drove Tirhakah, king of Egypt and Ethiopia, out of Egypt, and established the dodecarchy in B.C. 668-7 (p. 15).

That in his second expedition against Egypt, after the death of Tirhakah, he drove Rudammon, or Urdumane, stepson of Tirhakah, out of Egypt, in B.C. 656 (p. 52).

That in his third expedition he besieged Tyre: and that the date of that year is fixed as being that of the death of Gyges, king of Lydia, and the accession of Ardys, = B.C. 655-4 (p. 58).

That his fourth expedition (Cylinder B) was directed against the city of Karbit, beyond the Tigris to the east, when the population of Karbit was transported into Egypt: before Psammetichus, therefore, had become established sole king of Egypt: in B.C. 654 (p. 79).

That in the following year (p. 100, Cylinder B) he invaded Elam: when Urtaki king of Elam was slain, and Teumman set upon the throne of Elam, B.C. 653-2.

That in his fifth expedition Teumman was slain, and Ummanigas and Tammaritu were placed on the thrones of Elam and Hidalu; after which Saulmugina his brother, viceroy of Babylon, revolted, in the year when Assur-dur-uzur was archon eponymous at Nineveh, B.C. 652-1 (pp. 110, 151).

And—which is a point to be carefully observed—that after the elevation of Ummanigas and Tammaritu, in B.C. 652, Assurbanipal despatched an envoy to Elam to demand the restoration of the image of Nana, which had been carried off to Shushan by Kudurnanhundi, 1635 years before that time, that is in (1635+652 = ) B.C. 2287 (p. 200).

The result of these wars in Elam was the entire wasting and depopulation of that country, and the destruction of Shushan: \* and now it was, we may assume, that Assurbanipal began to transport the population of Elam into the vacant cities of Samaria, which had been laid waste by Sargon, Shalmanezer, and Sennacherib, though tributary kings of Assyrian appointment had still continued to reign in that kingdom. The transportation of the Elamites was probably soon followed by that of the Babylonians and Susanchites, who, we have seen, were associated in revolt with Elam, and were conquered, and severely punished.

We find from the cylinders of Esarhaddon that Abibahal was king of Samaria as late as B.C. 673, and, together with Manasseh king of Judah, gave tribute to Esarhaddon; but before the year B.C. 646, according to Mr. Smith, an Assyrian governor is named as having been placed over Samaria, showing that the kingdom had then entirely ceased, and the country had become incorporated with Assyria. Now Isaiah, speaking in the first or second year of the reign of Ahaz, had said: "Within three score and five years shall Ephraim be broken, that it be not a people" (Isaiah vii. 8): and if we count sixty-five years upwards from the conquest of Teumman and the Elamites, in B.C. 652, we come to the year B.C. 717, which, according to the reckoning of Demetrius, is the second year of Ahaz. Again, the Seder Olam Rabbah, or great chronicle of the Jews (ch. xiv), places the carrying away of Manasseh to Babylon by the

<sup>\*</sup> It is interesting to find here distinct notice of the river Ulai near Shushan, referred to by Daniel viii, 2, the existence of which has been doubted (p. 111).

king of Assyria in the 22nd year of Manasseh: and this 22nd of Manasseh, according to Demetrius, is B.C. 652. So that it appears that in that year an exchange of population between Palestine and the kingdoms of Elam and Babylonia had taken place, in conformity with the policy adopted by the kings of Assyria from the time of Tiglath-Pileser. Ezra refers to this migration of captives, when, in transcribing a letter from the people of Samaria to Darius, in later days, he alludes to the "Archevites, or people of Warka in Babylonia, the Babylonians, the Susanchites, the Dehavites, and the Elamites, and the rest of the nations whom the great and noble Asnappar brought over and set in the cities of Samaria" (Ezra iv, 9, 10).

With regard to the title Asnappar, for Assurbanipal, it must be observed that the letter from the Samaritans which Ezra transcribes is written, not in Hebrew, but in the Aramaic language, and that the last syllable "pal," which signifies son in Assyrian, would properly be written "bar," or "par," which signifies son, in Aramaic. So that the name of the Assyrian king, which if written in full would have been Assur-bani-par, had become contracted in course of time by the Samaritan mixed population brought from Babylonia and Elam, into the form transcribed by Ezra.

I have observed that the time of this transportation of captives in B.C. 652, from Elam to Samaria falls in correctly with the reckoning of Demetrius, who wrote a history of the kings of Judæa about the year B.C. 222; and, as I believe that he who adopts the reckoning of Demetrius has the key to the interpretation both of Assyrian and Hebrew chronology in his hands, it may not be unuseful if I here set out the reigns of the kings of Judah and Israel, with their dates, as derived from an abstract of dates from Demetrius, preserved by Clement of Alexandria, concerning the captivities of Judah and Israel, and compare them with the Assyrian Canon.

"Demetrius, in his book on the kings of Judæa," writes Clement, "says that the tribes of Judah, Benjamin, and Levi were not taken captive by Sennacherib; but that from this captivity, (that is from the first carrying away of captives from the land of Judah in B.c. 688) to the last which Nabuchodonosor made out of Jerusalem (Jerem. lii, 30),

<sup>\*</sup> Dr. Haigh considers that the second element of the name, \ bani, may also represent, na.

there were a hundred and twenty-eight years and six months; and from the time that the ten tribes were carried captive from Samaria till the fourth Ptolemy were five (read four) hundred and seventy-three years, nine months; and that from the time that the (last) captivity from Jerusalem took place, three hundred and thirty-eight years and three months."\*

DEMETRIUS COMPARED WITH THE ASSYRIAN CANON.

RECKONING OF DEMETRIUS.					PART OF	
	Kings	1	Kings	B.C.	ASSYRIAN CANON.	B.C.
в.с.	OF JUDAH.	B.C.			End of 1st Soss	1028
		_		<u> </u>	2/10/2000	-
993	Solomon 40				Divided into Sosses, or	
					periods of 60 years.	
					End of 2nd Soss	968
953	Rehoboam 17	953	Jeroboam 22		TEARS.	
936	Abijah 8	1000				
933	Asa 41		Nadab 2			
			Baasha 24			
• •			• •	928	Vul-nirari 20	
	• •	907	Elah	908	Tukulti-Ninip 3	
• •	• •	307	Zimri } 2		••	
			,,		End of 3rd Soss	908
		906	Omri 12			
		894	Ahab 22	902	Assur-nazir-pal 28	
	• •		• •		• •	
892	Jehoshaphat 25		• •		••	
	••		• •	877	Shalmaneser II 35	
	• •	872	Ahaziah 2		• •	872†
	• •	871	Joram 11–12		• •	,
868	Jehoram 7–8		• •		• •	
861	Ahaziah 1				• •	
860	Athaliah 6	860	Jehu 27–28		• •	860‡
854	Joash 40		••		• •	
					End of 4th Soss	848

<sup>\*</sup> Clem. Alex. Strom. 1

<sup>†</sup> Shalmanezer in his 6th year conquers Benhadad, supported by troops of Ahab.

<sup>‡</sup> Shalmanezer in his 18th year takes tribute of Jehu, and fights with Hazael.

## DEMETRIUS COMPARED WITH THE ASSYRIAN CANON—continued.

	RECKONING O	F DE		PART OF		
в.с.	Kings of Judah.	в.с.	Kings of Israel.	B.C.	ASSYRIAN CANON.	B.C.
814	Amaziah 29	832  815 	Jehoahaz 17 Jehoash 16-15 Jeroboam 41	842 823  810	Beginning of a Cycle * [Assurdaninpal † 19]? Samsi-vul III 13  Vul-nirari 29  Cycle (karru) 5th Soss ‡	847 788
785     734	Uzziah 52	759 747 736 734	Interregnum 12  Menahem 10  Pekahiah 2  Pekah 20	781 771  753 745 	Nebo enters his new temple  Shalmanuzur . 10 Assurdayan . 18  Solar Eclipse § Assur-nirari . 8  Tiglath-Pileser . 22 In association with Shalmanezer and Sargon . 11  End of 6th Soss	763
718  702 	Ahaz 16 Hezekiah 29 Manasseh 55	714 705 696	Interregnum 9 Hoshea 9  Captivity of the Ten Tribes 473 years 9 months before the IV <sup>th</sup> Ptolemy, Nov. B.C. 222.	723 722  705  680 .668	Shalmanezer Sargon	

<sup>\*</sup> Shalmanezer inaugurates a Cycle in his 31st year. Annals of Shalmanezer II.

<sup>†</sup> Assurdaninpal, who usurped the throne, is omitted from the Assyrian Canon. By allowing nineteen years to this reign, the interval of sixty years between two cycles is made up. See the acts of this king in Oppert's Histoire des empire de Chaldée et d'Assyrie, p. 123.

<sup>‡ 23</sup>rd year of Vulnirari marked as a Cycle in the Canon.

<sup>§ 9</sup>th year of Assurdayan marked by a Solar Eelipse in Sivan (15th June, 763).

 $<sup>\</sup>parallel$  This date is found upon ancient gravestones in the Crimea.—See Professor Chwolson's treatise on these stones, "Memoirs of the Imperial Academy of Sciences," St. Petersburg, 1865.

<sup>¶</sup> Demetrius.

## RECKONING OF DEMETRIUS—continued.

в.с.	Kings of Judah.	в.с.	Kings of Israel.	в.с.	Kings of Assyria.	B.C.
• •		652	People of Elam, Shu- shan, and Babylonia transported to Sa- maria, within 65 years from the 1st of Ahaz. Ezra iv, 10. Isaiah vii, 8.		Image of Nana reclaimed by Assurbanipal	652
618	Amon 2	•••		625	Sardanapalus or Nabo- palassar 20	
616	Josiah 31				End of 8th Soss	608
	ø M.			605	[Bel-sum-iskun] (?) Saracus	
585	Jehoahaz 3 Jehoiakim 11			581	1st Nebuchadnezzar 43	
574	Jechoniah 3					
573	Zedekiah 11			İ		
563	Temple of Jerusalem destroyed.		• •	563	19th Nebuchadnezzar	
560	Last transportation of captives by Ne- buchadnezzar 338 years 3 months		Kings of Persia.			
	before the IV <sup>th</sup> Ptolemy, Nov. B.C. 222.	559	Cyrus father of Cambyses 29		End of 9th Soss	548
	Jerusalem remains seventy years in a state of desola- tion, till the 1st	538	succeeds Astyages Babylon taken by Cyrus son of Cam- byses, his father and grandfather being still alive, about B.C. 536.	538	Evilmerodach 3  Nergal-Sharezar, Rabmag? §	
	year of Darius. (Dan. ix, 1).	536	Cambyses ‡ 18	536	Nabonadius, local king 17	
		520 517	Cyrus son of Cambyses Darius 36	495	Belshazzar son of Nabonadius	
492	Darius† son of	317	Darius of	492	Darius son of Hystaspes ¶	
	Hystaspes	493	Artaxerxes (Xerxes)		End of 10th Soss	488

<sup>\*</sup> See p. 251.

<sup>†</sup> Darius "took the kingdom being about three score and two years old."-Dan. v, 31.

<sup>‡</sup> Cyrus associates his son Cambyses with him in B.C. 536, when Darius is about nineteen years old. (Herod. i, 108.) Ctesias, therefore, says that he reigned eighteen years, Clement says nineteen. He continued to reign till B.C. 518, spending his last five years in Egypt.—Ctesias.

<sup>||</sup> Artaxerxes (Xerxes) took the kingdom (of Persia) Darius being full of years, LXX.—Dan. v, 31.

<sup>§</sup> Jerem. xxxix, 3.

<sup>¶</sup> Darius now styled "king of Assyria."—Ezra vi, 22.

Thus the Books of Daniel and Ezra, which as we have seen \* are incomprehensible as regards their chronology according to the common reckoning, become intelligible when interpreted in connexion with the reckoning of Demetrius. For the year in which "Darius the Median took the kingdom," (that is, put down the turbulent satrapy of Babylon, and took the government of Babylon and Assyria into his own hands) when about sixty-two years' old, is found to be the year B.C. 492, when Darius the son of Hystaspes was actually about that age. And from the LXX version of Daniel we find that Artaxerxes (or Xerxes) first came to the throne of Persia in association with his father Darius in that same year. Καὶ ἀρταξέρξης ὁ των Μήδων παρέλαβε την βασιλείαν, καὶ Δαρείος πλήρης των ήμερων καὶ ενδοξος έν γήρει. While Ezra, speaking of the rebuilding of the temple of Jerusalem in the time of Darius son of Hystaspes, records how "Ahasuerus," that is Xerxes, "in the beginning of his reign,"—the common phrase applied to the time preceding his actual reign—was appealed to to stop the building, and how it was "builded and finished" in the sixth year of Darius, that is B.C. March 486, "by the commandment of Darius and Artaxerxes king of Persia": four years after the battle of Marathon, when Darius had, as Herodotus tells us, placed Xerxes on the throne as king, and when according to Ezra he must have assumed the title Artaxerxes (Ezra vi, 14, 15). But it has been objected that Daniel, according to this view, "gives the monarch a wrong parentage (Ahasuerus instead of Hystaspes) and a wrong nationality (Median instead of Persian). † Here is a difficulty which must not be slurred over too hastily. Ahasuerus, as I have said, represents Xerxes in the Book of Ezra: and Xerxes we know was son of Darius Hystaspes, not his father. How then could Daniel, who knew the parentage of Darius, call him son of Xerxes, which is not true? The LXX translation affords, perhaps, some clue towards the solution of the difficulty, where we read (ch. ix, 1), "Ετους πρώτου ἐπὶ Δαρείου του Ξερξου, ἀπο της γενεάς της Μηδικής, ὁι έβασίλευσαν έπὶ την βασιλείαν πῶν Χαλδαίων. The words δι έβασίλευσαν are significant. For, the two kings, Darius and Xerxes, we have seen, had already become associated on the throne together, according to the LXX, as early as the year B.C. 492: and we here read that they

<sup>\*</sup> See p. 351. † Chronology of the reign of Semnacherib, p. 16.

were conjointly reigning over the Chaldeans, after Belshazzar's death. We might, therefore, be disposed to cut the matter short,, and laying blame on the copyist, assume that the original reading of the passage was not "in the first year of Darius son of Ahasuerus," but in the first year of Darius and Ahasuerus, that is, of Darius and Xerxes. This is in fact the truth as regards time. And with regard to the nationality of the king, as Larcher observes, "Herodotus and the greater part of the ancient writers, almost always comprehend the Persians under the name of Medes." Even as late as the Peloponnesian war, the Greeks who favoured the Persian cause were said to Medize.

Nevertheless. I do not think that this is what Daniel intended to express. Both Daniel and Demetrius lead us to look towards the latter part of the reign of Darius for the time when he took the government of Babylon into his own hands, when we know from Herodotus that a great revolution had taken place in his dominions, in which the satrapies of Ionia and Babylon were involved, and when probably it was sought to set up again the Assyrian empire under a Median prince.\* For the Medes were restless under the Persians, and more than one pretender to the throne in the early part of the reign of Darius we know, from the inscription at Behistun, had set up his claim as "of the race of Uwakshatara," or Cyaxares the Mede. I am inclined, therefore, to think that Daniel here intends to put forward the title of Darius to be called "king of Assyria," t as in some way connected with, or descended from Cyaxares who overthrew the empire of Assyria; that is to say, as the true representative of Ahasuerus, or Cyaxares II, who was son of Astyages. Herodotus we know had never heard of this prince. Xenophon, however, has given a full account of him. He was no doubt the Ahasuerus of the Book of Esther, who married Hadassah, or 'Atossa the Jewish captive. Now Darius Hystaspes also undoubtedly married a princess named 'Atossa, and we have no reason to doubt that 'Atossa was widow of Cambyses, But when Herodotus, unable to account for her royal extraction, calls her the sister as well as wife of Cambyses, we are not bound to believe him. 'Atossa was probably the daughter of Ahasuerus and Hadassah, and so, as in the parallel instance, David son of Saul, t "Darius son of Ahasuerus of the seed of the Medes," truly signifies

<sup>\*</sup> Herod. i, 130; iii, 150.

<sup>†</sup> Ezra vi, 22.

Darius Hystaspes, son-in-law, and representative of, Cyaxares the Mede.\* Any supposition seems to be preferable to the idea that "Darius son of Ahasuerus" was Cyaxares son of Astyages.† Whatever the true solution of the difficulty may be, as regards title, there can be no question as to the chronology.

With regard to the time of the death of Belshazzar, who we now know was the son of Nabonadius, I am not aware of any ancient authority for placing the revolt of this king earlier than in the reign of Darius Hystaspes. The Chronicle of Tabari records that, after the death of Kai-Khosru (Cyrus), Lohrasp (Cambyses) took the throne; that Gushtasp (Darius Hystaspes) succeeded him; and that in the reign of Gushtasp, a general named Coresh, governor of Trâq, was sent against Nebuchodonosor (Nabonadius) who ruled at Babylon, and that, having captured this prince, he sent him to Balk. After this Coresh took the throne of Babylon, and immediately released the children of Israel from captivity. † According to this account, therefore, no revolt of Belshazzar, son of Nabonadius, could have taken place earlier than the reign of Gushtasp.

Xenophon tells us that Cyrus took Babylon for the first time in the reign of the Persians, when Cambyses his father was reigning in Persia, and Cyrus himself not yet a king. I believe that he took the city a second time during his father's life, though of this we have no record in Herodotus or Xenophon. Orosius, however, writes—"Babylon for the last time was overthrown by King Cyrus, when Rome for the first time was freed from the tyranny of the Tarquin kings," that is about B.C. 510. This date we know falls within the reign of Darius Hystaspes, but it is at least ten years too low. Abydenus, copying probably from Berosus, tells us that when Cyrus took Babylon and captured Nabonadius, he gave him the principality of Carmania, and that "Darius the king drove him from that province." So that, according to Abydenus also, no revolt of Belshazzar could have taken place earlier than the reign of Darius Hystaspes. I am inclined to think that Tabari's record is correct, and that Cyrus, son of Cambyses

<sup>\*</sup> Some of the Persian writers relate that the mother of Kishtasp (Darius Hystaspes) was a Jewess. Others, that his queen (Atossa) was a Jewess.—"Times of Daniel," by the Duke of Manchester, p. 152.

<sup>†</sup> If any one thinks it possible that Ahasuerus may represent Astyages, he need find no difficulty in supposing it possible that Ahasuerus may represent Hystaspes.

<sup>‡</sup> Zotenberg's Translation of Tabari, p. 495.

<sup>§</sup> Orosius con. paganos. Lib. ii, c. 2, p. 74.

<sup>||</sup> Eusebius Auch. p. 30.

king of Persia, deposed Nabonadius when Darius was actually on the throne, though not on the throne of the Persian empire. For in the Behistûn inscription Darius seems to claim to himself the title of king by birth, rather than by usurpation. And when describing the events connected with the death of Gomates the Magian, after the death of Cambyses, he says: "This is what I did after I had become king." There is also a Persian inscription extant (H. Lassen, p. 15), in which Darius does not style himself as usual "king of kings," but simply "king," apparently "of this province of Persia." It is to be observed that in the great inscription at Behistûn, Darius carefully avoids fixing dates to the events of his reign; and it is clear from the Parian Chronicle, Ctesias, Manetho, and the Apis monuments that his reign of thirty-six years did not begin till after the death of Cambyses in B.C. 518.† Nevertheless, in after days he must have placed the date of his first accession as early as B.C. 521, as appears from the dates of eclipses in his reign recorded by Ptolemy. It was, I think, in the interval between 521 and 518, while Cambyses was occupied in Egypt, and when the whole empire of Persia, as described by Darius on the rock, was in revolt against him, that Nabonadius was deposed by Cyrus son of Cambyses. Be this, however, as it may, when Daniel, who was in Babylon, states the fact—"In that night was Belshazzar king of the Chaldeans slain, and Darius the Median took the kingdom," —I am at a loss to understand how any one can venture to argue that Belshazzar died during the siege in the reign of Cyrus. All Babylonian contracts dated in the reign of Darius reckoned of course the years of his reign from the time when he first became master of Babylon, not from the time of his putting down the revolt of Belshazzar. The tablet, therefore, in the British Museum, bearing date in the 18th of Darius, in no way interferes with this interpretation.

In support of the assertion that Demetrius affords the key to the interpretation of Assyrian as well as Hebrew chronology, I will examine the interval of sixty years between the dates B.C. 734 and 674 in the above table, within which there is much confusion of history, and concerning which Mr. Smith writes: "If the taking of

<sup>\*</sup> Journ. R. As. Soc., Vol. x, Part iii, p. 273.

<sup>†</sup> See Appendix to 2nd Edit. "Messiah the Prince," p. 371.

<sup>‡</sup> In the "Fragmenta Vetustissimorum," quoted by the Duke of Manchester, p 236, Cyrus and Darius are said to have reigned together some few years.

<sup>§</sup> See Chronology of the reign of Sennacherib, p. 15.

Samaria happened about B.C. 721, the expedition of Sennacherib against Hezekiah B.C. 701, with the possibility of a second attack on Hezekiah about B.C. 688, these dates cannot be reconciled with the chronology of the Book of Kings."\* I should much regret to be compelled to throw doubt upon the reckoning of the Book of Kings. Let us see, therefore, whether Demetrius can relieve us from the supposed difficulty, without straining either the Book of Kings or the Assyrian Canon.

- 1. Both the Babylonian and Assyrian Canons attest that Esarhaddon came to the throne of Assyria in the year B.C. 680. His father Sennacherib was slain in B.C. 681, and "in the month Sabadu (January) following, 680, he entered Nineveh and was proclaimed king of Assyria."†
- 2. The prophet Isaiah, towards the close of the historical portion of his book, speaks of the death of Sennacherib and accession of Esarhaddon. We may, therefore, reasonably assume that Isaiah lived as late as the year B.C. 678, two years after Esarhaddon came to the throne (Isaiah xxxvii, 38).
- 3. Isaiah's first vision is dated "in the year that king Uzziah died" (vi, 1): and, according to the common reckoning, this year is set down in the margin of our Bibles as B.C. 760.

So that, according to the common reckoning, there is an interval of above eighty-two years between Isaiah's first vision and the end of his life. And if we may assume that he began to prophecy at the age of twenty, he would have died when upwards of one hundred years' old. We dismiss, then, the common reckoning of our Bibles as highly improbable with regard to "the year that king Uzziah died."

Demetrius, on the other hand, places the death of Uzziah king of Judah in B.C. 734, and the death of the contemporary king of Israel, Menahem, in B.C. 737, thus making the age of Isaiah about seventy-six at his death.

That the date of Demetrius is true, and exact, is certified by the the most accurate test applicable to chronology, viz., by an eclipse registered at Nineveh in the month of June, B.C. 763, and recorded in the Assyrian Canon. For this eclipse is there set down as having happened eighteen years before the accession of Tiglath-Pileser, who

<sup>\*</sup> Chronology of the reign of Sennacherib, 1871, p. 3.

came to the throne, therefore, as all Assyrian interpreters agree, in the year B.C. 745-4.

- 4. Now Tiglath-Pileser, according to his own annals,\* in the eighth year of his reign (B.C. 738), received tribute of Menahem king of Samaria: and this Menahem we know had given "Pul," the immediate predecessor of Tiglath-Pileser, "a thousand talents of silver, that his hand might be with him to confirm the kingdom in his hand" (2 Kings xv, 19). Therefore, as Menahem reigned not more than ten years in Samaria, this eighth year of Tiglath-Pileser (738) must have been either the ninth or tenth year of Menahem, that is either 738 or 737.
- 5. Again, Menahem died three years before Uzziah (2 Kings xv, 17): "the year when king Uzziah died," therefore, according to Tiglath-Pileser's annals, was either B.C. 735, or 734, which agrees with Demetrius.

Thus far nothing can be required to add to the clearness of the agreement between the reckoning of Demetrius and the reckoning of the Assyrian Inscriptions, as regards the beginning and end of the sixty years under consideration. Let us next inquire how far the filling up of the interval between B.C. 734 and 674 in the Book of Kings, according to Demetrius, agrees with the Assyrian Canon. And here, it must be admitted, there is some difficulty.

In the foregoing table we find that Hezekiah reigned twentynine years, from B.C. 702 to 674. This I assume to be correct.

According to the Assyrian Canon, Sennacherib reigned twenty-four years, from B.C. 705 to 681. This is undoubtedly correct.

Hezekiah and Sennacherib therefore, according to Demetrius, were contemporaries, and the common reckoning of the reign of Hezekiah, from B.C. 726 to 698, must be dismissed.

Now, there are several cylinders in the British Museum relating to the reign of Sennacherib, some perfect, and some in a fragmentary state. Taylor's Cylinder is perfect, and has been translated by Mr. Fox Talbot.† It is dated "on the 20th day of the month Addaru, in the archonship of Belemurani, prefect of Carchemish," and contains the history of eight of Sennacherib's expeditions.

<sup>\*</sup> Berlin Zeitschrift, Jan. 1869, p. 13.

<sup>†</sup> Journ. R. Asiatic Soc., 1861, Vol. xix, Part 2.

Belemurani was archon eponymous in B.C. 691-90. He also gave his name to the year a second time, as Tartan, in B.C. 686-5. I had always considered that the date of Taylor's Cylinder was March B.C. 685, that year marking the date of the eighth expedition, at the close of the year in which he was Tartan, and that the third expedition of Sennacherib was therefore in B.C. 690.

Mr. Smith, however, who has the care of the Assyrian department in the British Museum, states distinctly that there are two cylinders dated in the archonship of Mitunu, B.C. 700, which contain an account of Sennacherib's attack upon Hezekiah in his third expedition, which must therefore be placed not later than B.C. 701;\* and Taylor's Cylinder must therefore be dated in the time of Belemurani the Prefect. The question is how far do these cylinders corroborate the reckoning of Demetrius. Let us examine.

Hezekiah began to reign in the year B.C. 702. And if we date Taylor's Cylinder in B.C. 690, the third expedition of Sennacherib falls in the year 701. So that Sennacherib would have attacked Hezekiah in the second year of his reign.

Now, if we turn to the Second Book of Chronicles, ch. xxix, xxx, xxxi, we read of all that Hezekiah did in his first year, in the first month, the second month, the third month, and on to the seventh month of B.C. 702. Ch. xxxii then begins—"After these things, and the establishment thereof, Sennacherib king of Assyria came, and entered into Judah, and encamped against the fenced cities, and thought to win them to himself." Hezekiah then "stopped the fountains." He "built up all the wall that was broken, and raised it up to the towers, and another wall without, and repaired Millo in the city of David," and in every way resisted the power of Sennacherib. Now, although no regnal year is named for this invasion, there seems to be good reason, so far as the Book of Chronicles is concerned, for placing it in the second year of Hezekiah, B.C. 701, when Sennacherib relates of himself,—"Then Hezekiah, who had not bowed down to my yoke, forty-six of his large cities"—"I utterly destroyed." "He himself shut himself up in his royal city Jerusalem. He built towers of defence over it, and he strengthened and rebuilt the bulwarks of his great gate." "Thirty talents of gold, eight

<sup>\*</sup> Chronology of the reign of Sennacherib, p. 6.

hundred talents of silver, scarlet robes," &c.—"this mighty spoil unto Nineveh my royal city after me I brought away." These two accounts are clearly descriptive of the same events. And they must, therefore, have taken place in the year B.C. 701. The Book of Chronicles then goes on to say,—"After this did Sennacherib king of Assyria send his servants to Jerusalem, but he himself went against Lacish," that is to say, in the 14th year of Hezekiah, 689, when the army of Sennacherib was suddenly destroyed.

Let us now turn to the Second Book of Kings (xviii, 7), where the first act related of Hezekiah is, that "he rebelled against the king of Assyria and served him not." This rebellion must be referred to the time of the first resistance offered to Sennacherib in 701; after which a combination was probably formed between Hezekiah, Hoshea, and So, or Sethos king of Egypt, to resist the power of Assyria,\* lasting till the fall of Samaria, in B.C. 696. For we next read (xviii, 9)—"It came to pass in the fourth year of king Hezekiah (699-8), which was the seventh year of Hoshea son of Elah king of Israel, that Shalmanezer king of Assyria came up against Samaria and besieged it. And at the end of three years they took it, even in the sixth year of Hezekiah, that is the ninth year of Hoshea king of Israel (997-6). And the king of Assyria did carry away Israel," &c., that is to say, in the following year, B.C. 696-5. Now we see by the foregoing table that this is the very year of the captivity of Israel fixed by Demetrius, four hundred and seventy-three years and nine months before the reign of the IVth Ptolemy; and, as I have elsewhere shown, it is the year also of their captivity recorded upon gravestones in the Crimea by Jews descended from the ten tribes.

But how, it will be asked, could Shalmanezer have besieged and captured Samaria in B.C. 696, as "king of Assyria," if Sennacherib had already come to the throne of Assyria some ten years before, that is in B.C. 705. This apparent difficulty is in fact a valuable testimony to the correctness of Demetrius. For, if we turn to the Book of Hoshea, the whole subject of which is the final destruction of the kingdom of Ephraim, and the removal of the remnant of the ten tribes from Samaria, we read—"When Ephraim saw her sickness"—

<sup>\*</sup> It was now that Menahem, Sennacherib's nominee to the throne of Samaria, was displaced.

+ That is the army of Sennacherib and Shalmanezer.

"then went Ephraim to the Assyrian," and sent to king Jareb (or Irib)," that is to king Sennacherib, "yet he could not heal you" (v, 13). And again—"The people of Samaria shall fear, because of the calves of Beth-aven"—"It (the golden calf) shall be carried unto Assyria, for a present to king Jareb (x, 6)"-"As Shalman (that is Shalmanezer) spoiled Beth-arbel"-" so shall he do to you Bethel."—"In a morning the king of Israel shall be cut off (x, 14, 15)." Thus it appears from this contemporary history that Sennacherib was king of Assyria at the time when "Shalmanezer king of Assyria" carried off the golden calf of Bethel and transported the ten tribes beyond the Euphrates. And from another contemporary witness it appears that though Shalmanezer's hand did the act, Sennacherib claimed to himself the triumph over Samaria. "Where are the gods of Hamath and Arphad?" says Sennacherib. "Where are the gods of Sepharvaim? Have they delivered Samaria out of my hand" (Isaiah xxxvi, 19)? This testimony of the prophets Hosea and Isaiah seems to be decisive as to the correctness of the reckoning of Demetrius with regard to the fall of Samaria. Josephus is also an independent witness to the same effect. For he wrote with the Tyrian annals of Menander before him: and relates first the resistance offered by Hezekiah to the king of Assyria in the same manner as it is told in the Book of Chronicles, showing that he refers to Sennacherib. He then goes on to speak of the revolt of Hoshea, and of his falling away to So, or Sethos king of Egypt, and how Shalmanezer came and destroyed the government of Israel, and transported the people into Media and Persia after besieging Samaria for three years; and how also Shalmanezer besieged Ilulæus king of Tyre for five years without success; and lastly, how in the 14th of Hezekiah, Sennacherib came against Jerusalem, and his army was suddenly destroyed. It is difficult to believe that Josephus so misunderstood the records of Tyre as thus to have placed the siege of Tyre by Shalmanezer, after, instead of before the death of Sargon, if the earlier date was that recorded. If any further confirmation could be required, we find it in the fact that Shalmanezer and king Hoshea had been for some years contemporary with So, or Sethos king of

<sup>\*</sup> When Sennacherib, in B.C. 701, passed through Samaria he laid tribute upon Menahem king of Samaria, his own nominee to the throne. If Hoshea who slew Pekah, also slew Menahem, this might be the "sickness" of Samaria which remained unhealed.

Egypt. But we have already seen (p. 347) that Sethos had not come to the throne of Egypt till the year B.C. 715. The idea then that the fall of Samaria, after a three years' siege by Shalmanezer, took place so early as B.C. 721 is absolutely untenable.\* The true reckoning is that of Demetrius, and the reign of Hezekiah is rightly placed as beginning in B.C. 702.

The fact of the existence of a plurality of kings in Assyria, thus shown, is remarkably consistent with what we know of the great extension of the empire which had taken place under Tiglath-Pileser. And accordingly we find him boasting (Isaiah x, 8)—"Are not my princes altogether kings." "At that time," we read, "did king Ahaz send unto the kings of Assyria to help him" (2 Chron. xxviii, 16). And again, when Sennacherib came against Hezekiah, this king stopped the fountains, saying—"why should the kings of Assyria come and find much water" (xxxii, 4). I would also suggest, with submission to Mr. Smith's great knowledge of the Assyrian tablets, the possibility that Sin-inadina-pal, or Kiniladanus, who was associated with his father Esarhaddon on the throne before his father's death (p. 324), may have been the brother of Assurbanipal, and not Assurbanipal himself: thus making not less than three kings on the throne of the empire at the same time, in the year B.C. 668.

Twenty-nine years, of the sixty under consideration, have thus been satisfactorily accounted for by the help of Demetrius, and there remain thirty-one years, from the last year of Uzziah B.C. 734, to the first of Hezekiah, to be examined. This interval of thirty-one full years, or thirty-two current, is divided in the Book of Kings equally between the two kings of Judah, Jotham and Ahaz, to each of whom sixteen years are assigned. Jotham begins to reign in Judah in the course of B.C. 734, Pekah reigns over Israel twenty years from the same date till 715, and Ahaz reigns in Judah from B.C. 718 to 703. These dates I conceive to be correct within a single year.

From the Assyrian Canon, and from a series of dated tablets in the British Museum, admirably set forth by Mr. Smith in the Zeitschrift of July, 1869, we learn that Sargon reigned from B.C. 722 to 705. So that Ahaz and Sargon were contemporary kings, as Hezekiah and Sennacherib we have seen were contemporary.

<sup>\*</sup> Chronology of the reign of Sennacherib, p. 11.

Now the history of Ahaz is preserved in the Books of Kings, Chronicles, and Isaiah, with much distinctness. It appears that he began to reign when Pekah had been seventeen years on the throne of Samaria, and that in his first year, B.C. 718, Pekah together with Rezin king of Damascus endeavoured to get possession of Jerusalem, without success; that Rezin succeeded in settling a colony of Syrians at Elath; while Pekah carried away not less than 200,000 women, sons, and daughters from Judah: that Ahaz then asked help of the kings of Assyria: that Tiglath-Pileser king of Assyria came to him, "but strengthened him not" (2 Chron. xxviii, 16, 20): that Isaiah counselled Ahaz to be quiet, took witnesses to prove the time of the birth of one of his children, and then foretold to the king that "Before the child shall have knowledge to cry, my father, and my mother, the riches of Damascus, and the spoil of Samaria, shall be taken away before the king of Assyria," that is to say before the expiration of three years, ending in the years 715 or 714. We then read how Tiglath-Pileser took Damascus, carried the people to Kir, and slew Rezin their king: and how Ahaz went to Damascus to meet Tiglath-Pileser, and sent a pattern of an altar from Damascus to Jerusalem, and remained some little time at the court of Tiglath-Pileser at Damascus, till after the altar had been erected (2 Kings xvi, 9, 12). Here, then, we obtain contemporary witness that Tiglath-Pileser was still on the throne at least as late as B.C. 716, though Shalmanezer and Sargon had both obtained the rank of kings before that time. For Rezin we are told was still alive eighteen years after the death of Uzziah in B.C. 734. It is remarkable also, that though the fall of Damascus is here spoken of, in conformity with the words of the prophet, no mention is made of the fall of Samaria. Tiglath-Pileser slew Rezin and took Damascus, but who spoiled Samaria? That both cities had now fallen before the king of Assyria we know from Isaiah. For about this time, say in B.C. 715, or 714, it was that Tiglath-Pileser made use of the expression just referred to-"Are not my princes altogether kings? Is not Calno as Carchemish? Is not Hamath as Arpad? Is not Samaria as Damascus?" The inference then seems to be that Tiglath-Pileser, who had now come to within three years of the end of his life, had as usual associated certain princes with him on the throne, and that it had fallen to the lot of one of them to take Samaria. Be this as it may, it is certain, according to the Hebrew account, that the kingdom of Samaria was deprived of its king in the reign of Tiglath-Pileser, and, according to the interpretation of Demetrius, not earlier than about the year B.C. 715, or 716. Isaiah then makes mention of Ahaz for the last time (xiv, 28)—"In the year that king Ahaz died was this burden. Rejoice not thou whole Palestina, because the rod of him that smote thee is broken: for out of the scrpent's root shall come forth a cockatrice." These words either apply to the death of Tiglath-Pileser in B.C. 712, followed by the invasion of Shalmanezer in 698-events apparently too wide apart-or to the death of Sargon, the conqueror and oppressor of Palestine, who died in August, B.C. 705, shortly before "the year that king Ahaz died," B.C. 703, followed by the invasion of Palestine by Sennacherib in 701. The latter no doubt is the time referred to. And thus again the known date of Sargon's death, 705, according to his annals, marks the time of the death of Ahaz, which must have been soon after 705, as correctly laid down by Demetrius. It now only remains to be shown, how Hamath and Arpad, Samaria and Damascus, were, according to Assyrian records, subdued about the year B.C. 715, as reckoned by Demetrius, and by an Assyrian prince then associated on the throne with Tiglath-Pileser.

Let us turn to the work entitled "Les Fastes de Sargon," translated by MM. J. Oppert and J. Ménant, from inscriptions in Sargon's palace at Khorsabad. "This is what I accomplished," writes Sargon, " from the commencement of my reign up to my fifteenth campaign. defeated, in the plains of Kalou, Khoumbanigas king of Elam. besieged and occupied the city of Samaria; I carried into captivity 27,280 of its inhabitants; I levied upon them 50 chariots, leaving them the rest of their property; I placed over them my own rulers, and imposed upon them the tribute of the king supreme, or 'Sar Mahri;'"—the word Mahri being taken here as equivalent to the word מָרָא in Daniel, "Lord," where it represents "Lord of kings" (Dan. ii, 47). He then goes on to recount his several military exploits in different countries, putting together when possible all that was done during the fifteen campaigns at each particular spot. The account of his attack on Samaria is modestly given. He does not even name the conquered king (Pekah); he speaks as if he was then only acting on behalf of the supreme king of Assyria. He makes the most

<sup>\*</sup> Les Fastes de Sargon, p. 9.

indeed of his comparatively trifling capture of 27,000 inhabitants from Samaria, though Pekah had lately captured not less than 200,000 of the people of Judah; and then goes on to other exploits till, apparently about his seventh year, B.C. 715, he comes to the revolt of Hamath, Arpad, Damascus, and Samaria, and the conquest of those confederate provinces in that year. Now the date of this conquest cannot be placed earlier than about the year 715; because Sargon previously speaks of a victory gained over Sebech, or Sabbaco, as general of the Egyptians, and of his imposing tribute on Pi-ir-chu, or Bi-ir-chu (Boccoris),\* king of Egypt, whose reign we have seen (p. 347) did not begin till 715 at the earliest; and also of tributes laid upon Samsi queen of the Arabs and It-Himyar the Sabean. Again, in the fragmentary annals of Tiglath-Pileser, the chronological range of which is as yet very imperfectly defined, we read of the fall of Rezin, the putting down of Pekah, and first setting up of Hoshea, t and of the tributes placed upon Samsi queen of the Arabs, and on the Sabeans, which exploits, apparently, are the same as those accomplished by Sargon.‡ It is sufficiently clear that the putting down of Hamath, Arpad, Damascus, and Samaria by Sargon was the result of war in the time of Pekah, Rezin, and Ahaz, not of war in the time of Hezekiah and Hoshea, eighteen years after. Also that the date of Pekah's death was about B.C. 715, the date of Demetrius, certainly not 730 as certain modern writers contend.§

I now quit the subject of the agreement of Demetrius with the Assyrian Annals, which has been established at the following points:—

DEMETRIUS.	Assyrian Annals.
Death of Uzziah 734	Death of Uzziah 734-5
Putting down of Samaria and Damascus in the reign of Alaz, 20 years later  Death of Ahaz after the breaking of "the rod that smote" him	Putting down of Hamath, Arpad, Damascus, and Samaria, about the 7th year of Sargon
Sennacherib's invasion in the 2nd year of Hezekiah 701	Sennacherib's third campaign, and invasion of Palestine 701
Death of Hezekiah after the accession of Esarhaddon 674	Accession of Esarhaddon 680

<sup>\*</sup> This identification was first observed by Sir H. Rawlinson. † 2 Kings xv, 30. ‡ Zeitschrift, January, 1869. \$ Chronology of the reign of Sennacherib, p. 11.

and I once more repeat that the correctness of his dates is placed beyond all question by their agreement with the dates of the three solar eclipses B.C. 763, 689, and 585, all which combine to lower the common reckoning exactly twenty-five years: and I now come to the consideration of another very interesting result to be derived from the history of Assurbanipal.

## RECTIFICATION OF THE ASSYRIAN CANON.

We read in the foregoing history (p. 200), that soon after Assurbanipal had established Ummanigas and Tammaritu on the throne in Elam, that is towards the early part of the year B.C. 652, and before the revolt of Saulmugina in 652-1, the king had despatched a herald to the court of the king of Elam to demand restitution of the image of the goddess Nana, which the Elamites had carried away to Shushan just 1635 years before that date (p. 234). In another passage Kudurnanhundi king of Elam is recorded as the king who had carried off the image, and it is there said to have remained in Elam during—

2 Ners = 1200 years. 7 Sosses = 420 ,, 15 years = 15 ,, 1635 years.

that is from the year B.C. 2287 to 652 (p. 251). Now we should place no great faith in the exactness of any such precise report of time after so great a lapse of years, did we not know from this and other sources that the Chaldeans and Assyrians had an exact method of reckoning time in cycles of Sari, Neri, and Sossi.

Abydenus writes—"A Sarus is three thousand six hundred years, a Nerus is six hundred, and a Sossus sixty." And Sir H. Rawlinson has deciphered a tablet in the Assyrian character, from which he gives "a specimen of the ordinary Babylonian sexagesimal notation," to which he has appended a "portion of a table of squares which extend in due order from 1 to 60."\* Now if we might assume that the 15 years above spoken of beyond the even cycles, were to be reckoned after the end, and not before the beginning of the two Ners and seven Sosses, we should of course be enabled to fix the dates of

<sup>\*</sup> Early History of Babylonia, p. 4.

a series of not less than twenty-seven Babylonian cycles of 60 years each, in the same way that the whole series of Sabbatical years and Jubilees of Hebrew Scripture have been accurately determined from two or three known dates, to the great assistance of chronologists in laying down the outline of Scripture history. That the correct position of these 15 years is at the end of the period, and not the beginning, is certain from the fact, that by so reckoning we arrive at a year in the Assyrian Canon which is registered as the termination of a cycle. For if we add fifteen years to B.C. 652, we find that B.C. 667 should be the first year of a cycle, and adding again two Sosses or 120 years to that figure, we find that B.C. 787 was actually the first year of a cycle. For the previous year 788 is registered in the Canon as the last year of a cycle. Dr. Haigh\* I believe was the first to mark the bearing of these cycles upon the Assyrian Canon. Though apparently unacquainted with the passage in Assurbanipal's Annals concerning the image of Nana, he wrote in July 1870— "Karru, in the year B.C. 788 (translated Jubilé by Dr. Oppert), marks the last year of a cycle, a line below B.C. 728, marks another; and one below B.C. 668 probably another."

In the Assyrian Canon, as interpreted by Sir Henry Rawlinson, Shalmanezer II, whose annals are recorded on the black obelisk in the British Museum, in his thirty-first year appears to have "inaugurated a second cycle":† and Sir Henry observes that the verb used in this passage is akrur, from בָּרֶכ, "to move in a circle" (Gesenius). Between this thirty-first year however, B.C. 828, as commonly arranged, and B.C. 788, there are but forty years, instead of sixty. Dr. Haigh therefore, after laying down a calendar of cycles with intercalated months, from B.C. 787 to 688, in conformity with known "astronomical observations from Assyrian documents," goes on to suggest, that the reign of Assur-dan-pal, son of Shalmanezer, who revolted from his father, and secured to himself the allegiance of twenty-seven of the principal cities of Assyria for a period, as he assumes, of nineteen or twenty years, during which the appointment of eponomous archons over the great cities was probably suspended, should be interpolated in the Canon, by which the thirty-first year of Shalmanezer, B.C. 828, will become B.C. 847, and be the first year of a "second cycle" of sixty

<sup>\*</sup> Zeitschrift July and August, 1870.

years in that king's reign: and he closes his observations by saying—"This circumstance, combined with others noted above, seems to me to establish a certainty that Assur-dan-pal reigned for twenty or nineteen years, from B.C. 844, or 843, to 824." I have no doubt that Dr. Haigh is correct in this suggestion, and I have, accordingly, in the foregoing comparison of the reckoning of Demetrius with the Assyrian Canon, inserted in the Canon, a reign of nineteen years beginning in B.C. 842, between the reigns of Shalmanezer and Samsi-vul.

Here again the value of the Canon of Demetrius—for his record of dates is worthy of the title—is seen, as a true interpreter of Assyrian chronology. For according to Demetrius the year B.C. 860 was the year of the accession of Jehu king of Israel, of Hazael king of Syria, and of the death of Jezebel the widow of king Ahab. And in the eighteenth year of the reign of Shalmanezer, B.C. 860, thus corrected, we read-"I crossed the Euphrates for the sixteenth time. Hazael of Damascus relying on the multitude of his soldiers collected his soldiers in great numbers—I fought with him and defeated him."\* And Mr. Smith has written—" While examining part of the Assyrian collection in the British Museum, I lately discovered a short inscription of Shalmanezer II, king of Assyria, in which it is stated that Jehu king of Israel sent him tribute in the eighteenth year of his reign." Again in the sixth year of Shalmanezer, corrected to B.C. 872, "the Assyrians defeat the confederate forces of southern Syria, Egypt, Arabia, and Palestine, at Aroer. Ahab of Jezreel was associated with Benhadad in this fight."† Now 872 is according to Demetrius the 23rd year of Ahab, in which he died, and in which Ahaziah came to the throne. So that the last year of Ahab, and first year of Jehu mark the sixth and eighteenth years of Shalmanezer. Neither of these years will bear to be moved without dislocation between Demetrius and the Canon. The striking fact is, not that nineteen years arbitrarily inserted into the Assyrian Canon bring it into harmony with Demetrius, but that nineteen years, neither more nor less, are required to complete the cycles referred to in that Canon: and that when so inserted, the reckoning of the two Canons is in harmony to a single year.

<sup>\* &</sup>quot;The Nimrûd Obelisk," by Dr. Hincks. Dublin Magazine, Oct. 1853. † Sir H. Rawlinson; Athenæum, 18th May, 1867.

Assyrian interpreters are still much at variance with regard to the date of the eighteenth year of Shalmanezer. Sir Henry Rawlinson places the date in the year B.C. 841. Dr. Oppert places it in B.C. 888, not less than forty-seven years earlier. Dr. Hincks favoured the views of Dr. Oppert. Mr. Smith coincides with Sir H. Rawlinson. The true date, as I have endeavoured to show, B.C. 860, lies between the two. Let us test the probability of each of these three dates by the probable time of the death of Jezebel, who was slain by Jehu in the year of his accession. Jezebel we know was the daughter of Ithobal king of Tyre, and priest of Astarte, who lived to the age of sixty-eight, according to Menander's Annals of Tyre, and died just forty-two years before the sister of Pygmalion fled from Tyre and built the city of Carthage. Now Polybius, who was living at the time of the fall of Carthage, in B.C. 146, as quoted by Appian, informs us that Carthage had flourished seven hundred years from the time of its foundation to the time when the city was destroyed. The epitomizer of Levy records the same number of years. Suidas writes-Scipio took the city after it had ruled over the surrounding nations seven hundred years. Orosius writes-" Diruta est Carthago septingentesimo post anno quam condita erat." The colony of Carthage was founded therefore in the year B.C. 846: and Ithobal was born one hundred and ten years before the foundation, that is in B.C. 956. Now assuming that Jezebel his daughter was born about the twentieth, or twenty-fifth year of her father's age, that is in the year B.C. 936 or 931, her age at death would have been -

According to Oppert, from 38 to 43 in the year B.C. 888

" Demetrius " 66 to 71 " " 860

" Rawlinson " 85 to 90 " " 841

Clearly the intermediate date is the nearest to the truth. And thus by means of an entirely independent course of inquiry, our already well-founded faith in the accuracy of Demetrius is again confirmed: and the necessity of the proposed modification of the Assyrian Canon strongly supported.







